E.Coli: Is a U.S. outbreak coming? WORLD Faith in the Arab Spring Don't Worry, There's Life After High School

America's Next Top Weiner

TIME

WHAT RECOVERY?







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EDITOR'S DESK

soon owns it.

can do to fix it.

like forever.

The Limits of

Presidential Power

ern politics:

2. There's a limit to what any Presi-

These are naturally related because

if you inherit a good economy, you can

lousy one (which may have been what

got you elected), you soon get blamed

for it-and there's not always a lot you

People ask me all the time how I

think the economy is doing. Since per-

ception in this case fuels reality, your guess is as good as mine. But you can

get a much better sense of what's reliable and what's built on sand from Rana Foroohar's smart cover story, in which

she refutes the five biggest myths about

the current economy-No. 1 being that

somehow we'll get back to where we

that we may have to live with high

once were. The reality is, the economy

is changing in such fundamental ways

unemployment for, well, what will feel

but unemployment, rather than GDP

growth, seems to be what elects and

defeats Presidents, However limited

their options, Presidents need to appear

I'm all for reducing the debt, but I don't

quite understand how doing so will

create jobs. And while it's important

to have a strong foundation for your

house, if your house is burning down

you don't worry about the foundation. You put out the fire.

to be doing everything they can to create jobs, even if that's not a whole lot.

People always vote on the economy.

take credit for it, but if you inherit a

dent can do about the economy.

Two fundamental-and

related-theorems of mod-

1. Every President in-

herits the economy from

his predecessor, but he

of Self-What I Learned from My Cancer Scare

> TIME.com Most E-Mailed Stories What I Learned from My Cancer Scare

Is Apple?

Check Your Charity! Swampland: Paul Ryan's Ayn Rand

Techland: Lightning in

17 Minutes Homeowner Forecloses on

Can America Keep Pace?

THE CONVERSATION

"What I Learned from My Cancer Scare," Dr. Mehmet Oz's

contribution to our cover package on cancer treatment, was a popular read. Oz's account of his colonoscopies and how he disregarded his doctors' advice was TIME's most read, most tweeted piece. Another top story, Fareed Zakaria's "Innovate Better," lent itself to a free-spirited online slugfest over whether government should get more involved in innovation or stay out of it (or, in the words of one reader, "clean up its regulations and make the incometax system more business-friendly!") For solace, readers turned to "Happy Birthday, Bombshell," a photo-essay commemorating what would have been Marilyn Monroe's 85th.





How Married Are You? The Semi-Happy Mac Security Threats: How Vulnerable

a Bottle: Antimatter Trapped for Nearly

Bank of America

MAIL

Dr. Oz's Colonoscopy Chronicles



I don't know whether to laugh or cry when hectored by the wellmeaning Dr. Mehmet Oz to get regular cancer screenings [June 13]. I am 62 with a part-time job and no health insur-

ance. How am I to pay for tests? And if cancer is discovered, what on earth can I. and the many people like me, do about it? Annette Harper, NEW ORLEANS

As a medical technologist in microbiology who is always trying to describe to my friends and others what I do and what importance it has, I appreciate your ability to use simple terminology, props and demonstrations to demystify and explain health and medical issues. Lori Lohrenz, WICHITA, KANS.

I am a survivor of chronic myelogenous leukemia, successfully treated with two bone-marrow transplants. Before diagnosis, I, like Oz, was very healthy. Although Oz's story stressing screenings will be helpful to some, I was dismayed by his initial reaction to his possible

cancer. "Am Lat fault? Could I have done something differently?" Coming from an influential physician, this statement promulgates a societal tendency to blame the victim for a diagnosis of cancer. Believe me, no cancer patient needs to be subjected to this notion by anyone, especially treating physicians.

Ellen Werts, MARANA, ARIZ.

Sorry, guys. Having lost a dear friend to colon cancer and being a breast cancer survivor. I must say that Oz's cancer "scare" was a nonstory. We can all relate to how it would feel to have a cancer scare. But the true stories lie with those who have faced the real deal. Sadly, many of those stricken with cancer are no longer with us to recount them. That is reason enough to have the necessary cancer screenings. Dianne Stuckman, GIBSONIA, PA.

Cancer Treatment Declined

I loved "The Refuseniks," by Ruth Davis Konigsberg [June 13]. Recently, my elderly, blind aunt refused a colonoscopy, and she couldn't understand why everyone was so upset with her. Your article definitely gave

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



us a new perspective on why many physicians automatically recommend tests and treatments. As in the case of the 80-year-old woman with lung cancer described by Konigsberg, we need to look at the individual needs of patients and recognize each person's ability to make decisions for his or her body.

Marcy Grim, MUNSTER, IND.

After my father was diagnosed with Stage IIIB esophageal cancer at age 78, he refused the recommended chemotherapy, to the frustration of oncologists, who predicted he'd be dead within a year. In July he will be 80. He drives himself to the gym every morning at 5 and does his own grocery shopping. It is hard for him to swallow certain foods. but he has adapted. A recent PET scan showed no spread of the cancer. His family found it hard to come to terms with his decision, but eventually we understood that if the "cure" is a daily routine of nausea and weakness, with no guarantee of success, what kind of life is that? Whether my father has six months left or six years, I want him to go out on his terms.

Jackie Altman, ARLINGTON, VA.

To Screen or Not to Screen

It was irresponsible of you to publish an article that, in part, almost discourages men from having a PSA test ["The Screening Dilemma," June 13]. Had I not had my PSA tested, my 60%-cancerous prostate would have remained in my body, growing and aggressively attacking me at age 48. While the PSA is not a marker for cancer and is not perfect, it is the tool we currently have for potential early detection, which saves lives. Prostate cancer is not just an old man's disease.

John Salata, LAS CRUCES, N.M.

The organization I help run, Zero, the Project to End Prostate Cancer, has saved countless lives by testing more than 110,000 men over the past 10 years. Most of our dollars come from individuals who



FROM THE ARCHIVES

Ford Flails

dent's fight against a dire economy (see page 22): "President Ford last week rolled up his sleeves to con-

... Wall Street, like the U.S. itself, is arrest ... The President's new proabsolutely necessary for winning the

owe their lives to early detection. Testing saves lives. Put aside the excuses and talk to your doctor.

Jamie Bearse, WASHINGTON

I was surprised to find no mention of cervical, uterine or ovarian cancers on the charts. If the Pap smear has dramatically lowered the risk of the first one or two, that should have been stated exultantly. Helen D. Haller, PITTSFORD, N.Y.

Apples and Oranges

Re "The Politics of Self-Delusion" [June 13]: I normally admire Joe Klein, but it is wrong to suggest that the passage of health care reform was a partisan overreach similar to Paul Ryan's proposed Medicare overhaul. Providing health security to millions who don't have it and protecting health-insurance consumers from coverage caps and denials for pre-existing conditions is not in the same league of legislative intemperance as the Ryan plan, which could easily cost a future retired couple an extra \$300,000 during the most vulnerable time of their adult lives.

Jon Thingvold, MURRIETA, CALIF.

It's Education, Stupid

Fareed Zakaria's essay on innovation barely touched on one of the keys to our incredible past successes-our university system, which is the envy of the rest of the world [June 13]. As Jonathan R. Cole points out in his excellent book The Great American University, almost all the great innovations since World War II in technology, medicine, military science and virtually every other field have been the result of basic and applied university research. The Internet, radar and GPS are but a few examples. As all levels of education are devastated by budget cuts, we should not be surprised to see our position as world leader filled by other, more enlightened nations. Alan E. Kehew, PORTAGE, MICH.

The Long, Slow Climb Out Rana Foroohar's "The 2% Economy"

doesn't cut it flune 13l. We are coming out of a severe recession and need leadership. Growth should be 5% to 6% at least. There is little to feel good about at 2%. Robert Peele, ROCKY MOUNT, N.C.

"The 2% Economy" was a splendid article. Galbraith progeny applaud. James Galbraith, AUSTIN

WRITE TO US

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"I've been taking an antidepressant, but my depression was still creeping up on me."

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks and are still struggling with depression, having ABILIFY added to your antidepressant may help with unresolved symptoms in as early as 1-2 weeks.*

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (eg. an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY, call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior. or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- · Call your doctor if you develop very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a rare but potentially fatal condition called neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)
- . If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of tardive dyskinesia (TD). TD may become permanent and the risk of TD may increase with the length of treatment and the overall dose. While TD can develop after taking the medicine at low doses for short periods, this is much less common. There is no known treatment for TD, but it may go away partially or completely if the medicine is stopped

- . If you have diabetes or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes. your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extreme high blood sugar can lead to coma or death
- . Other risks may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery The common side effects in adults in clinical trials (≥10%) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, and insomnia.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid alcohol while You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Safety Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option of adding ABILIFY.



FREE trial offer Trial offer ABILIFY.com

*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.



Bristol-Myers Squibb Olsuka Ame



*Restrictions apply.

ABILIFY® (a BIL i fi) RONLY (aripiprazole)

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safely information for patients about ABILEY this summary does not include all information about ABILEY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILEY and discuss any questions about ABILEY with your healthcare professional.

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

 Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:

Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia), ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

 Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, bensagers, and young adults within the first the months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal floughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people with have for have a family history of bipotal illness glate called main-depressive illnessy or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.

 Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings.

Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

 frioughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, thoube sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being anapy, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and taiking (mania), other urusual changes in behavior or moot.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider. Stopping an antidepressant

medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.

Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses. It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not

treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.

• Antidepressant medicines have other side effects. Talk

 Antidepressant medicines have other side effects. Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.

meacine prescribed for you or your anily memoer.

Antidepressant medicines can interact with other
medicines. Know all of the medicines that you or your
family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show
the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without
first checking with your healthcare provider.

 Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children, Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat:
 major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not.

get better with an antidepressant alone. The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feeling of saciness and empthises, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthisenses or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY? Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have

or had:

• diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you check AN IEX and also during them.

you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.

• seizures (convulsions).

- low or high blood pressure.
 heart problems or strake.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant, it is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
 breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed, it is not known if
- Dreas-rebuilig in plant to thesac-rebuil it is not known it ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both.

 Tow white blood cell count.
- phenylketonuria. ABILIFY DISCMELT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylalanine.

· any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILEY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines withing to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

 Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself

- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
 ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

 Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.

- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
 Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
 In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
 Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- . Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Tell your

healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in puise, heart rate, and blood pressure. These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.

High blood sugar (hyperglycemia): Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILP?. Extremely high blood sugar can lead to come or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes, you healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you star ABILP? and durin thereon.

Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:

 feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.

- Difficulty swallowing; may lead to aspiration and choking.
 Tardive dyskinesia: Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition.
 Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY: Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.
- Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure): lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.
- string or lying position.
 Low white blood cell count
- Low white blood cell cour
 Seizures (convulsions)

Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathlisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about ABILIFY

- Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F.
 Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFI: fly our would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

Tablets manufactured by Otsuka Pharmaceutical Co, Ltd, Tokyo, 101-8535 Japan or Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA

Orally Disintegrating Tablets, Oral Solution, and Injection manufactured by Bristot-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA Distributed and marketed by Otsuka America Pharmaceutical, Inc. Rockville, MD 20850 USA

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Bristol-Myers Squibb

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Briefing

'The picture was of me, and I sent it.'

1. ANTHONY WEINER, Democratic Representative from New York, who admitted June 6 to having repeatedly lied about a racy picture sent from his Twitter account

'All of Dominique Strauss-Kahn's power, money and influence will not stop the truth of what he did to her in that hotel room from coming out,'

2. KENNETH THOMPSON, attorney for the maid who was allegedly assaulted by the former IMF chief

'This investigation has been a disaster.'

MICHAEL OSTERHOLM, infectious-disease expert at the University of Minnesota, on Germany's search for the source of Europe's deadly E. coli outbreak; cucumbers and sprouts were named, but investigators have backtracked

'Thirty years ago, this mystery disease was called a gay plague. It was a shunned disease. ... Now it's a completely different world.'

4. MICHEL SIDUE, head O'UNAIDS, which save the rate for eff Will infection decline nearly 3% from zor to

2009; June 5 marked the 30th anniversary of the first official report on the HIV virus

'It's hard to find the words.'

5. SUKANYA ROY, 14, on winning the Scripps National Spelling Bee; she took the trophy with the word cymotrichous





2,500

by Jason West of Vernal, Utah, to pay a disputed \$25 medical bill; he was cited for disorderly conduct—the fine for which could be up to \$140

600

square miles (1,550 sq km) burned in an Arizona wildfire—the second largest in the state's history—as of June 8

1,500
Approximate number of

people who showed up for a German teenager's birthday party after she neglected to mark the Facebook invitation to it as private; she did not attend



92%
Percentage of Americans who say they believe in God, according to a Gallu

Sources: ABC News: Reuters: AP: BBC: CNN

Briefing

LightBox

Fire in the sky
A cloud of ash billows
from Chile's Puyehue
volcano, which until
June 4 had been
dormant for half a
century. The cloud rose
omiles to kny high
in the sky, hindering
air travel and causing
thousands of people
to flee their homes,
which quickly became
blanketed in ssh.

For more photos, visit lightbox.time.com



World



An antigovernment protester crowd-surfs in Yemen's capital, Sana'a

Saleh's Out, but Is It for Good?

YEMEN President Abdullah Ali Saleh, an autocrat facing the greatest challenge to his three decade long rule, left the country for treatment in Saudi Arabia after sustaining injuries during a rocket lattack on his palace compound. His departure was greeted with boisterous street celebrations in the capital, Sana'a. But Saleh Joyalists claim the President will return, and the Saudis, who have spearheaded weeks of backroom negotiations between the Saleh regime and its opponents; insist the visit was purely for medical reasons. If Saleh steps down, there are concerns over what may follow; Yemen is a poor nation whose political and tribal divisions were co-opted and suppressed by Saleh's iron rule. Now Jawand order have unraveled in much of the country. Dissident tribesmen wage urban warfare against Saleh supporters in Sana'a, while militants linked to al-Queda seek to exploit the political chaos.

Leftist Wins Election

PERU Ollanta Humala a former military officer won a runoff to become the Andean nation's President-elect. Critics of the leftist Humala liken him to Venezuela's demagogic Hugo Chávez and worry about his campaign promises to increase taxes on mining companies—Peru has some of the world's biggest silver and copper deposits. mainstays of the country's economy. But supporters. including Nobel laureate Mario Vargas Llosa, say Humala will be reliably moderate and pragmatic.



Humala celebrates victory at a rally in Lima

Mavhem SYRIA Hundreds fled across the border into Turkey in anticipation of government reprisals after state media claimed 120 security personnel were killed in the northern town of Jisr al-Shoghour. The government of President Bashar Assad blamed Insurgents and armed mobs; other reports suggested mutineers from Assad's army were involved. Though difficult to confirm, the reports darkened the picture of the Syrian uprising: humanrights groups say more than 1,000 people, mostly civillans, have been killed in three months of anti-Assad protests. An armed insurrection would likely lead to an even bloodler crackdown. At the other end of the country, 23 Syrlan and Palestinian protesters were killed by Israell

forces while trying to cross into the disputed Golan Heights in a show of solidarity with

Palestinians in

the West Bank

For more news

correspondents

go to globalspin.

from TIME's

and Gaza.

From North To South.

Death and





Ghosts of Tiananmen Haunt the Present

HONG KONG. Nearly 100,000 people marked the 22nd anniversary of the suppression of pro-democracy protesters at Beljing's Tianamen Square Semiautonomous Hong Kong is the only Chinese city where the mussacre can be publicly remembered. With China in the throse of a sevene crackdown on dissen, this year's voigil carried even deper resonance.



Guru's Fast Triggers Political Storm

tens of thousands of demonstrators massed by a famous yoga guru on a hunger strike. Swami Ramder was protesting corruption in Indian politics, but government officials said the crowds had gathered illegally and that the fast was a front for a rally by opportunistic right-wing Hindu nationalists.

Ramdev, right, and his followers had camped out at Ramlila Grounds in New Delhi, above

Tough Task for New Prime Minister

PORTUGAL in national polls, the center-right

Social Democrats (PSD) defeated the ruling Socialists. paving the way for **PSD** leader Pedro Passos Coelho to assemble the debtridden country's next government. Coelho must now preside over drastic austerity measures mandated by a \$114 billion bailout from the IMF and E.U., and he acknowledged his triumph somberly. "The years that await us will require

a lot of courage,"

he said.

Study: The War on Drugs Has Failed

U.S. A high-profile commission led by a number of Latin American former Presidents released a report that found that nearly a half-century of global policies to combat drugs has backfired, only driving rates of drug use up and creating a black market run by lethal cartles. The report suggests a total rethinking of repressive strategies in use for decades, urging the legalization of substances like cannabis.





Nation



The Big Questions By Mark Halperin

What phrase best describes Mitt Romney's strategy? Playing possum. Overexposure is the normal mode for someone who wants to beat an incumbent President, but Romney has lain low for months. Behind the scenes, he has traveled widely, meeting with potential supporters, collecting campaign cash and only rarely appearing before cameras. Romney's aides believe that keeping him out of the line of fire from the left and the right will allow him to enter 2012 as he entered 2011—as the unquestioned front runner for the nomination. Some old pros, previously dubious about Romney's chances, are now saying more admirringly, "Fear the possum."

Why is he so far ahead of his rivals? Two numbers cell the story. First, Romney's fundraising haul for the first half of the year is likely to be more than that of all the other contenders combined. Second, a recent Washington Post/ABC News poll showed Romney narrowly beating Barack Obama in a general election matchup—the only Republican to do so. The possum strategy works best when the media train their attention on non-candidates and long shots such as Sarah Palin, Donald Trump, Herman Cain and Michele Bachmann. That has cut off oxygen to Romney's real rivals. Tim Pawlents and In Huntsman.

So is he a lock for the nomination? Romney has two indisputable problems—and a big question mark. Many rival strategists believe that as soon as Republicans start confronting Romney on his Massachusetts health care law (complete with its Obama style individual mandate), he will be deemed unacceptable by GOP voters. And questions persist about his personality. He is described as having difficulty relating to voters or, more harshly, as a phony. Finally, as the candidates shift from denunciations of the President to attacks on one another, we will learn whether the polished, oft uptight Romney can take a punch.

A Long Shot's Steady Climb

During the past year, Herman Cain has trekked to lowa 19 times, pitching himself to local power brokers and honing his withering critique of Barack Obama, the Democrats and all things liberal. The work is paying off. In March the former CEO of Godfather's Pizza won a straw poll of social conservatives in Des Moines, lapping a field dotbrands like Sarah Palin and Michele Bachmann. "At the moment I think he's wa by GOP one of the front runpresidential ners" in the crucial hopeful (and caucus state, says lopizza mogul) wa Tea Party leader

Ryan Rhodes. Iowa isn't the only place where Cain, 65, is catching on. He captured a Tea Party Patriots straw poll in Phoe nix and was widely considered the winner of the GOP's opening debate in South Carolina last month. His star has climbed as better-known social conservatives like Mike Huckabee have opted to sit out the 2012 race. Cain's grass-roots support is partly the product of his genuine Horatio Alger story, Raised poor in



Atlanta, he was the first in his family to attend college, and he put himself through graduate school by working as a Navy mathematician. He earned a reputation as a corporate turnaround artist, and in 1994, as the head of the National Restaurant Association, he sparred with President Bill Clinton over health care reform at a televised town hall. That exchange helped scuttle the Clinton proposal and propelled Cain to fame among conservatives. A self-help

author and radio host who calls himself the Herminator, Cain takes uncompromising stands, and his stemwinding oratory has made Tea Partyers swoon.

Herman Cair But other conservatives are skeptical that Cain or his message can survive the rigors of a long campaign, even in hospitable Iowa, Cain has never held elected office: he was routed in his only race, a Georgia Senate primary in 2004. He has declined to articulate a foreign policy-to do so without access to classified documents, he says, would be disingenuousand flubbed a series of questions about international affairs. "The objective of the liberals is to destroy America." he said, a comment that typifies his appetite for nuance. In March he said he wouldn't be comfortable hiring Muslims because of the threat posed by Shari'a law. (He later said he was referring only to "jihadists.")

> Cain is making his charge. Can his own party get comfortable hiring him?—ALEX ALTMAN

1



WHO ARE THE **MILLIONS** OF AMERICANS WHO OWN **MORE THAN** 75% OF DIL & NATHE SHARES?

1'm one

Virgin L. Antirod Teacon

retirements. Retired firefighters, police officers and teachers like Virgie are among the millions of Americans who, through mutual funds, pensions and stocks, own more than 75% of oil and natural gas company shares. So while the oil and natural gas industry supports 9.2 million working Americans, it also helps support the livelihood of millions of retired workers. That gives "enery's ecurity" a whole new meaning.



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CAR SALES

Economy

Detroit's Got It In Drive. Lack of supply slows Toyota, Honda

The month of May may have been a bit sluggish, but car sales continued to rebound in the U.S.—so much so that Fiat bought a (used) car company, ac quiring the remaining shares of Chrysler held by the U.S. government for \$500 million. Fiat now owns 52% of Chrysler, "Because President Obama made the tough decision to stand behind and restructure the auto industry. America's automakers are growing stronger," crowed Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. General Motors has sold more than a million vehicles in the U.S. this year. Japan's earthquake cut supplies, denting sales for Toyota and Honda, Korea's Hyundai and Kia continued to make inroads. German automakers have held their own, with the outfit from Wolfs burg, Volkswagen, leading the pack. - BILL SAPORITO



MISFORTUNES

Cash Poor. Many Americans lack

a rainy-day fund

Percentage in Americans who said their nouseness outful ame is with 52,000 st 91 to without 350 ling some obsessions Councy without gave to exceed the councy of their council of th



SAVINGS

Money Talks. Fed-up investors still crave Wall Street's financial advice

The saying "Put your money where your mouth is" doesn't apply to the American investor. Corporate profits may be on the rise, but poil investor confidence in the market is not. A poll by Prudential finds that 58% of investors have lost faith in the stock market, while 44% say they never han to invest in U.S. stocks and the profits of the profits of the profits of the stock of the profits of th

they never plan to invest in U.S. stocks again.
Yet Americans haven't changed how they
invest, pouring \$85 billion into mutual funds in
this year's first quarter and \$700 billion since
March 2009, according to fund tracker

Momingstam—up 250% and 43%, respectively, since before the financial crisis. That's surprising, considering the pains Americans suffered at the hands of the fund industry in that period. A recent Government Accounts ability Office study found that those who took brokers' advice on 402.(k) is faired worse than 402.(k) gains hand far more to do with secount-holders' and employers' contributions than their funds' performance.—ROYA WOLVERSON

Health&Science



Cornering Skin Cancer

They're not a cure, but new drugs promise to extend life **By Alice Park**

The findings are being called "unprecedented" and "truly striking." In two studies, two drugs to treat patients with melanoma, the deadliest form of skin cancer, have helped prolong survival-a first in melanoma treatment.

Skin cancer is the most common cancer in the U.S., but until now patients with metastatic melanoma, or cancer that had spread to other parts of the body, were practically untreatable. Fewer than 10% respond to traditional chemotherapy, and no studies have shown that the treatment can actually extend lives.

Scientists at the American Society of Clinical Oncology meeting report promising results with two new kinds of drugs: one that helps the immune system fight cancer and another that targets a gene mutation in melanoma. The first, ipilimumab, which is already approved by the government for skin cancer and marketed as Yervoy, was tested in newly diagnosed patients with advanced disease. The study showed that 21% of patients receiving a combination of Yervoy and chemothera py were still alive three years later, compared with 12% of those who received only chemo.

On average, tumors in the Yervoy group continued to shrink or stop growing for 19 months following the study, compared with only eight months in the chemo group.

In the other study, scientists tested an experimental drug called vemurafenib, which targets a specific gene mutation that triggers growth in about half of all advanced melanomas. When patients with late-stage melanoma were given a combination of chemotherapy and vemurafenib, they were 63% less likely to die within three months than those getting chemo alone. On vemurafenib, 48% of patients also saw tumors shrink for at least a month, compared with 5.5% of the chemo patients.

Matching specific mutations in tumors to the appropriate drugs in this way represents the next phase in cancer care. That's why vemurafenib's makers hope to submit a kit for genotyping tumors along with the drug for approval by the government.

Individually, the new drugs are not cures. Taken together, however, they may offer more success. To that end, the drugs' manu facturers are teaming up for a new trial testing their products in combination.

AUTISM

New Genetic Causes of Autism

Autism affects about 1% of children in the U.S., and in most cases, some combination of genetic abnormalities is likely to blame. While a few of these mutations have been traced from parents to their children, three new studies have identified a series of spontaneous anomalies that may underlie the disorder in families with no history of autism. Researchers focused their

attention on families in which only one child had autism and compared their genomes with those of their unaffected siblings and parents. The autistic children had differences in the amount of DNA in certain portions of the genome-including many that appear to affect the same molecular network in neural cells-compared with their family members. These regions, the scientists say, are ripe targets for new treatments for the range of autism spectrum disorders. -A.P.



Autism may be due to a series of random, noninherited mutations

'I drop the d. That word is a dirty word.'

-GENERAL PETER CHIARELLI, U.S. ARMY. on why the military prefers to use the term posttraumatic stress rather than posttraumatic stross disorder, arguing that disorder unnecessarily stigmatizes soldiers' natural response to the emotional and violent experience of battle



Milestones



Jack Keyorkian

"My specialty is death," Dr. Jack Kevorkian once told TIME. In the 1980s he began weighing in on the issue that would make him infamous: euthanasia and the plight of the dving. By the time his own end cameon June 3, at 83, from kidney-related complications—the physician was said to have had a role in more than 130 deaths. Many of them came about through use of the Thanatron, the infamous "suicide machine" he rigged to let his patients self-administer lethal levels of narcotics.

In 1999, after Kevorkian had deftly avoided criminal responsibility in several cases, he was convicted of second-degree murder when video surfaced of him administering a deadly dose. Eight years later he was paroled; a quiet period followed, and then he resumed his crusade, pushing his cause vigorously though never again assisting in suicides.

His detractors, though, continued to decry his methods, claiming they skirted the subtleties of psychology and palliative alternatives and that the effectiveness of his death machines robbed the dying of the chance to consider other ways to see out their earthly existence. But Kevorkian's confidence in his quest remained unruffled. "It's unstoppable," he told TIME. "It may not be in my lifetime, but my opponents are going to lose. There's a lot of human misery out there." - HOWARD CHUA-EOAN

FORFEITED A match by the

Iranian women's soccer team, after FIFA said headscarves violated its dress code; the forfeit means the team won't play in the 2012 Olympics. Lilian Jackson . Braun, 97, author of the Cat Who mysteries; Braun wrote the 29 books in the series in longhand over a span of 41 years.



ANNOUNCED **GBTV. Glenn Beck's**

subscription-based Internet network. on June 7: Beck leaves Fox News this month and will start his new daily two-hour GBTV show in September.

CHARGED Alois Mabhunu, a Zimbabwean police

officer, with using President Robert Mugabe's private tollet: Mabhunu was convicted and sentenced to 10 days in jail.

John Edwards, for violating federal campaign-finance laws: he is charged with using campaign funds to hide his mistress during his 2008 White House run

DIED Lawrence

ter, and they were both

married to the struggle.

RICHARD STENGEL

Eagleburger, 80, diplomat and former Secretary of State to George H.W. Bush; he served in sensitive missions in Israel, China and the Balkans

DIED James Arness

For 20 years, James Amess who dled June 3 at 88. personified the upright western lawman Matt Dillon on Gunsmoke, By any measure. Amess's run on the show and the connection he developed with viewers over the course of a generationnot to mention simply being able to maintain interest In a character all those years-were remarkable achievements. Amess was the picture of Western rectitude, with his tall stature (he was 6 ft. 7 in., or just over 2 m), square law and clean-cut looks. But though Gunsmoke was a traditional TV western. you can see in Dillon the seeds of more conflicted lawmen in westerns like Clint Eastwood's Unforgiven. Though the show was called Gunsmoke. Amess's Dillon-who kept his emotions in check and would not draw first-made clear that he was not trigger-happy. -JAMES PONIEWOZIK





Albertina Sisulu It was Walter Sisulu who

first saw in Nelson Mandelathe future transformational leader of South Africa. Like Mandela, he spent more than two decades in prison on Rob ben Island where he was known as Allah because he was so wise and calm. Walter's wife of 50 years. who died June 2 at 02. fulfilled the same role for the women of South Africa. Albertina-people called her MaSisulu was the sensible but strict grandmother who fought discrimination for five decades. In 1956 she led a march of 20,000 women against the apartheid pass laws and was one of the first women to be arrested under the pernicious Amendment Act No. 37 laws. She was married to Wal-



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James Poniewozik



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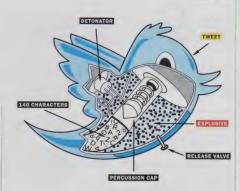
Twitter is a danger zone— especially for its most adept users

REPRESENTATIVE ANTHONY WEINER IS not the first public figure to be undone by an errant hand on his Twitter, (Let me be up front: there will be any number of unfortunate double entendres in this column). But he's now the most prominent person to be damaged by the very immediacy and reach that make Twitter such a powerful tool. (Ahem. As I said.) One layse of judgment—or one false click after several lapses of judgment—and a career implodes. For lack of a better word, let us call this increasingly common other owners.

In Weiner's case, he had been using Twitter (and Facebook—let's not deny it the branding opportunity) to exchange crotch shots, raunchy notes and sundry other congressional perks with a series of young women. On May 27, while watching a hookey game, he inadvertently tweeted a photo of his erection in boxer briefs to his tens of thousands of followers rather than as a private, direct message to the intended recipient, a 21 year old woman in Washington State.

The new media scandal devolved in Other he denied, he lied, he blamed enemies (a "hacker"). Then, as new women and photos emerged, he held a tearful press conference to confess: 'twas not hackage but his package.

The trony here is that Weiner had been model social media user. He didn't use Twitter to post anodyne press statements. He was prolific, using the same Brooklyn puglistic voice he brought to his House floor speeches. ("There is no law against stupid, but when is Comcast/NBC Kabletown gonna fire Trump? and you will be the same that when the made impassioned arguments, picked fights with peers, cracked wise and kevethed about sports. He practically



taught a course in online persona building.

But unlike, say, the telephone, social media are both intimate (not just in that way) and broadcast. You can use them to contact one person or, if you have the following of a Sarah Palin, send a manifesto to millions, unmediated. In one fatal moment, Weiner crossed those wires.

His first mistake—O.K., second, after exposing himself to women on his wife—was to use the same forum for public business and private fliritation; don't tweet where you eat. Yet he broader principle of separating business and personal is not so simple. On Twitter or Facebook, an effective politician for pop star or author) does connect on a personal level. So social-media use for public figures is full of contradictory rules Be provocative but not offensive. Be authentic, but don't alienate people. Put yourself out theref But—em—don't put if and out there.

This is the essence of twimmolation: the very qualities that make someone popular on Twitter (mischievousness, authenticity, a quick wit) can backfire when taken to an extreme (offensiveness, oversharing, lack of impulse control).

Comedians have walked this line since long before the computer age, but they are

not immune. In March, Gilbert Gottfried was fired as the voice of the Aflac duck af ter tweeting insensitive jokes about the tsunami in Japan. With social media, we're on a live mike, or even camera, all the time.

Don't get me wrong: real-time reaction is what makes social media awesome. I say this as the author of 8,000 plus tweets over two years. The instant feedbackreplies or retweets, the Twitter equivalent of applause-is intoxicating, like a pleasure-center reward for a lab rat pulling a lever. You can see how it would appeal to an exhibitionist, self-destructive impulse. I'm not about to tweet a shirtless photo (my pecs lack definition), but I've laughed at and told inappropriate jokes in private. So far, I've had the common sense not to tweet anything ghastly. But do I have common sense everywhere. all the time? Does anyone?

Now, none of that absolves Weiner, who acknowledged as much. "What I did was a mistake," he said. "There's nothing in here retly wrong with social media." He was right they simply provide easy amplifiers for what is wrong with the socializer. So call media may or may not make us all famous for 15 minutes. But we can all be infamous in 20 characters.

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Mike Murphy



Numbers Matter. But Which Ones?

A weak economy could undo Obama. Demographics could save him

MEMOCRATS ARE IN A GRUMPY mood, and with good reason. A big special election victory in upstate New York quickly sagged into a disastrous media frenzy over Democratic Congressman—Internet I othario Anthony Weiner's spectacular success in becoming the Twittersphere's most obvious twit. To make matters worse, a brandnew Washington Pot/ABC News poll shows President Obsana actually losing to Mitt Romney among registered voters, in a tight 49% to 49% to 49% to 60 footnets!

The race is close because next year both Obama and the Republican nomine are likely to be skating on wafer thin ice. For while the weak economy is one huge force driving these numbers, there is a second force in play that could be equally unset thing. The 2012 election is shaping up as a battle between economics and demo graphics. The economy is threatening to end the President's political career. The demographics of a changing America might just re-elect him.

Start with the economy. The Washington Post poll is full of bad news for the White House. The fabled "wrong track" number-a sort of overall-dissatisfaction index measuring the percentage of voters who think the country is moving in the wrong direction-has risen to 66%, a dangerous level for incumbent Presidents, Ironically, it was the same kind of wrong-track tilt-near 80%-in 2008 that propelled the Obama campaign to the White House. The wrong-track change wave is building again, this time against Obama. The President's numbers on how he's handling the economy are his biggest problem. In the Post poll, 59% gave him a poor grade. When 6 out of 10 voters flunk you on the

What will the Obama campaign do to

economy, it's political kryptonite.

address this dire threat? First, try like mad to hange perceptions of him as a hapless economic manager by offering unhappy yoters a sweet sundae of fresh action? Yes, we hear you loud and clear, the President is working hard, he has a brilliant new plan and new economic advisers, stand by for good news, etc. Atop this sugary dish will be abitter red cherry of class warfare, with Democrats' claiming that unlike the rich, uncaring, corporates hill Republicians.



Obama actually cares about the economic pain of the middle class. The Obama cam paign will then cue up negative ads to try to shove the spotlight away from the boss's economic failures and toward a referendum on the Republican nominee.

In a had economy, I doubt this conjuring will be enough to be alt a credible Republican of the Romney, Tim Pawlenty or Jon Huntsman variety. The real acc up Obama's skeeve in 2022 'Changing demographics. As I wrote in this space two years ago, Republicans need to learn that we no longer hold our presidential elections in Ronald Reagan's America. Here are the numbers:

in 1980, white voters cast 88% of the total presidential vote by 2008, the percentage had shrunk to 79%. White his why, though George W. Bush in 2000 and John McCain in 2008 both won 55% of the white vote. McCain lost by 7 points and Bushessen tally tied Al Gore. Worse for the GOP, the proportion of overall votes cast by white voters will decline even more in 2012.

Latinos are rapidly redrawing the demonth of the control of the

Latino populations. Obama carried three of these states in 2008, losing only McCain's Arizona. The crucial question next year is, Will a poor economy trim Obama's huge margin with these Latino voters? If not, the West may be bleak for Republicans. The GOP could offset these Western-state losses by winning the economically pressed states of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, In 2010 each switched from a Democratic to a Republican governor. That said, the Republican presidential nominee has not carried Michigan or Pennsylvania since 1988 or Wisconsin since '84. Finally, Florida

Latino population has increased 57% since 2000. Polls there show a tight race.

So who wins next year? In the long term, bet on demographics. The GOP must shed its nativism and attract more Latinos, or the Electoral College math becomes prohibitive. In the short term, if mancial conditions don't improve soon, bet on economics. High unemployment next year will be a firing of fense for Obama.

But only one thing is certain: in this street fight, each side has a glass jaw.

Murphy is a Republican consultant

TIME June 20, 2011



NATION

Don't Hold Your Breath

This is not your father's recovery. It might not even be a recovery at all. Debunking the myths of the new American economy

BY RANA FOROCHAR

OUBLE DIP IS NOT A TERM that a government keen to extricate itself from the economic-crisis-management business likes to hear. A couple of weeks ago, the Obama Administration was poised to switch to growth mode. Then the ugly data started pouring in like the overflowing Mississippi. First-quarter GDP numbers showed a measly 1.8% increase. well short of the expectations of above 3%. and second-quarter estimates are not much better. Then came a report on housing-price declines that have not been seen since the Great Depression, followed by reports of consumer spending at six-month lows and weak manufacturing surveys. The worst was unemployment figures to make you cry: a mere 54,000 jobs were created in May, less than half of what was expected and less than a third of what is needed to lower a 0.1% unemployment rate.

You can hardly blame Council of Economic Advisers head Austan Goolsbee for picking this moment to retreat to his tenured university post in Chicago. The professor tried to put a good face on things, brushing away worries of a double dip and citting stiff but temporary "headwinds" from such factors as the Japanese-nuclear-disaster-related supply shocks and higher gas prices. Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke was somewhat more sober, admitting that the recovery was proving to be "uneven" and "frustratingly slow." Yet he gave no hint of being willing to helicopter in a third round of fiscal stimulus—at least not yet. "Mon etary policy," hesaid, "cannot be a panecar." Or as Gooisbee put it, it's time for the private sector to "stand up and lead the recovery."

sector to "stand up and lead the recovery."

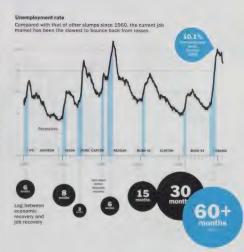
If only. There may be 3 trillion sitting on the balance sheets of American corporations globally, but firms show no signs of wanting to spend it in order to hire workers at home, however much Washington might hope they will. Meanwhile, the average American is feeling poorer by the week. "If one looks at unemployment and housing, it's clear that for all practical purposes, we have yet to fully get out of recession," says Harvard economist Ken Rogoff, summing up what everyone who doesn't live inside the Beltway Bubble is thinking. While the White House's official thouse's official thinking. While the White House's official thinking.

2011 growth estimate, locked in before Japan and the oil shock, is still 3,1%, most economic seers are betting on 2,6%. That's not nearly enough to propel us out of an unemployment crisis that threatenstocreate a lost generation of workers who can't find good jobs and may never find them. Welcome to the 2% economy.

While the Administration is taking a sort of "move along, nothing to see here" approach. Republicans are trying to pin every economic problem on Obama in the run-up to the 2012 election. Let's be clear: the slow growth the U.S. is experiencing is not an Obama-specific problem. Many of the ingredients in it were already baked into the economy and were simply laid bare by the financial crisis. According to research by Rogoff and economist Carmen Reinhart. it takes four years after a financial crisis just to get back to the same per capita GDP level you started with, and there's no doubt things would have been dramatically worse had the Administration not taken all the action it did in the wake of the crisis.

But at the same time, the growth problem is Obama's. Every President inherits his predecessor's economy; indeed, it's often what gets him the job. It's then up to the new guy to change the numbers as well as the debate. Now it looks as if Obama is losing that debate. The Republicans have pulled off a major (some would say cynical) miracle by convincing the majority of Americans that the way to jump-start the economy is to slash taxes on the wealthy and on cashhoarding corporations while cutting benefits for millions of Americans. It's fun-house math that can't work; we'll need both tax increases and sensible entitlement cuts to get back on track. Yet surveys show 50% of Americans think that not raising the debt ceiling is a good idea-that you can somehow starve your way to economic growth.

No wonder the rest of the world is so worried about our future. Sadly, other regions won't be able to help us out, as happened in 2008. Europe is in the middle of its own debt crisis. And emerging markets like China, which helped sustain American companies by buying everything from our heavy machinery to our luxury goods during the recession, are now slamming on the growth brakes. Why? They're worried about inflation, which is partly a result of the Fed's policy of increasing the money supply, known as quantitative easing. Much of that money ended up in stock markets, enriching the upper quarter of the population while the majority has been digging coins out from under couch



cushions. Investor money also chased oil prices way up (which hurts the poor most of all) and created bubbles in emerging economies. Now these things are coming back to bite us.

All this sounds complicated, and it is, But it's important to understand that our economy has changed over the past several decades in important and profound ways that politicians at both ends of the spectrum still don't get. There are half a billion middleclass people living abroad who can do our jobs. At the same time, technology has allowed companies to weather the recession almost entirely through job cuts. While Democrats may be downplaying the bad news. Republicans, obsessed with the sideshow that is the debt-ceiling debate, haven't offered a more cohesive explanation for the problems or any real solutions. Rather, both sides continue to push myths about what's happening and how the economy will-or won't-recover. Here are five of the most destructive myths and why we need to figure out a different path to growth.

MYTH NO. 1

This is a temporary blip, and then it's full steam ahead

TRUE, ONLY 12.2% OF ECONOMISTS SURveyed in the past few days by the Philadelphia Fed believe that the current backsliding will develop into a double-dip recession (though that percentage is up significantly from the start of the year). Avoiding a double dip is not the same as creating growth that's strong enough to revive the job market. In fact, there's an unfortunate snowball effect with growth and employment when they are weak. It used to take roughly six months for the U.S. to get back to a normal employment picture after a recession: the McKinsey Global Institute estimates it will take five years this time around. That lingering unemployment cuts GDP growth by reducing consumer demand, which in turn makes it harder to create jobs. We would need to create

r87,000 jobs a month, growing at a rate of 3,3%, to get to a healthy 5% unemployment rate by 2020. At the current rate of growth and job creation, we would maybe get halfway there by that time.

MYTH NO. 2

We can buy our way out of all this

WHILE A THIRD ROUND OF STIMULUS shouldn't be off the table in an emergency (Ohama has already indicated it's a possibility if things get much worse), the risk-reward ratio isn't good. For starters, our creditors-the largest of which is China-would squawk about the debt implications of doling out more money, not to mention the risk of creating hot-money bubbles in their economies. That's almost beside the point, though, because the stimulus-which has taken the form of Fed purchases of T-bills designed to reduce long-term interest rates and make homeowner refinancing easier-isn't much help if homeowners don't have jobs that allow them to make any payments at all. Although foreclosures are declining, the supply of foreclosed homes for sale is undermining the real estate market, which is dampening consumer spending and sentiment. "It's time to move beyond financial Band-Aids," says Mohamed El-Erian, CEO of Pimco, the world's largest bond trader. "It's clear that the stimulus-induced recovery hasn't overcome the structural challenges to large-scale job creation."

MYTH NO. 3

The private sector will make it all better

THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL DISCONNECT between the fortunes of American companies, which are doing quite well, and American workers, most of whom are earning a lower hourly wage now than they did during the recession. The thing is, companies make plenty of money; they just don't spend it on workers here.

Half of Americans say they couldn't come up with \$2,000 in 30 days without selling some of their possessions. Meanwhile, companies are flush: American firms generated \$1.68 trillion in profit in the last quarter of 2010 alone. But many firms would think twice before putting their next factory or R&D center in the U.S. when they could put it in Brazil, China or India. These emerging-market nations are churning out 70 million new middle-class workers and consumers every year. That's one reason unemployment is high and wages are constrained here at home. This was true well before the recession and even before Obama arrived in office. From 2000 to 2007, the U.S. saw its weakest period of job creation since the Great Depression.

Nobel laureate Michael Spence, autor of The Next Convergence, has looked at which American companies created jobs at home from 1990 to 2008, a period of extreme globalization. The results are startling. The companies that did business in global markets, including manu facturers, banks, exporters, energy firms and financial services, contributed almost

Corporate profits

Corporate income is up, but that's not leading to hiring



nothing to overall American job growth. The firms that did contribute were those operating mostly in the U.S. market, immune to global competition—health care companies, government agencies, retailers and hotels. Sadly, jobs in these sectors are lower paid and lower skilled than those that were outsourced. "When I first looked at the data, I was kind of stumned," says Spence, who now advocates a German-style industrial policy to keep jobs in some high value sectors at home. Clearly, if's a myth that businesses are simply waiting for more economic and regulatory "certainty" to invest back home.

MYTH NO. 4

We'll pack up and move for new jobs

THE MYTH OF MOBILITY—THAT IF VOU build jobs, people will come—is no lome—is no lother case. In fact, many people can't move, in part because they are underwater on their homes but also because the much heralized American labor mobility was declining even before this whole mess began. In the 1980s, about 1 out of 5 workers moved every year, mow only 1 of 10 does. That's due in part to the rise of the two career family—it's no longer an easy and obvious decision to move for Dad's job. This is a trend that will only grow stronger now that women are earning more advanced degrees and grabbing jobs in the fastest growing fields.

A bigger issue is that the available skills in the labor pool don't line up well with the available jobs. Case in point: there are million job openings today. "There's a

Gross domestic product

The economy is growing slower than in other recoveries



TIME |une 20, 2011

tremendous mismatch in the jobs market right now, "says McKinsey partner James Manyika, co-author of a new study titled An Economy That Works job Oreation and America's Future, "It runs across skill set, gender, class and geography." A labor market bifurcated by gender, skill set and geography means that unemployed autoworkers in Michigan can't sell their underwater homes and retool as machinists in North Dakota, where homes are cheaper and the unemployment rate is under-silv.

MYTH NO. 5

Entrepreneurs are the foundation of the economy

ENTREPRENEURSHIP IS STILL ONE OF America's great strengths, right? Wrong. Rates of new-business creation have been contracting since the 1980s. Funny enough, that's just when the financial sector began to get a lot bigger. The two trends are not disconnected. A study by the Kauffman Foundation found an inverse correlation between the two. The explanation could be tied to the fact that the financial sector has sucked up so much talent that might have otherwise done something useful in Silicon Valley or in other entrepreneurial hubs. The credit crunch has exacerbated the problem. Lending is still constrained, and the old methods of selffunding a business-maxing out credit cards or taking a home equity loan-are no longer as viable.

So where does it all leave us? With an economy that still needs a major shake-up. There are short-term and long-term solutions. Job No. 1 is to fix the housing market, While the government is understandably reluctant to get deeper into the loan business, it's clear that private markets aren't able to work through the pile of foreclosures quickly enough for house prices to stabilize. If the numbers don't improve in the next month or so, it might be time for the government to step in and either take on more failing loans (a TARP for homeowners as opposed to investment banks?) or pass rules that would allow more homeowners to negotiate better terms with lenders.

And let's not forget the youthunemployment crisis. There's now a generation of young workers who are in danger of being permanently sidetracked in the labor markets and disconnected from society. Research shows that the long-term

Mobility

A less mobile workforce means fewer people find employment



unemployed tend to be depressed, suffer greater health problems and even have shorter life expectancy. The youth unemployment rate is now 24%, compared with the overall rate of 9.1%. If and when these young people return to work, they'll earn 20% less over the next 15 to 20 years than peers who were employed. That increases the wealth divide that is one of the root causes of growing political populism in our country. While Republicans have pushed back against spending on broad government-sponsored work programs and retraining, it would behoove the Administration to keep pushing for a shortterm summer-work program to target the most at-risk groups.

But these are stopgaps. The real solutions, of course, are neither quick nor easymaking them especially challenging for Congress. It's a cliche that better education is the path to a more competitive society, but it's not just about churning out more engineers than the Chinese. The US. will also need a lot more welders and administrative assistants with sharper communication skills. There's an argument for a good system of technical colleges, which would in turn require a frank conversation about

Start-ups

Fewer new companies are being started



the fact that not everyone can or should shell out money for a four-year liberal-arts degree that may leave them overleveraged and underemployed.

The other major issue is bridging the divide between the fortunes of companies and the fortunes of workers. Democrats and Kepublicans argue about whether and how toget American corporations to repatriate money so it can be taxed, and again they are missing the point. For starters, it's hard to imagine that crafty corporate lawyers won't find ways around any new rules (That in itself is an argument for tax simplification that would reduce the loopholes that allow the 400 richest Americans to pay 48% income tax) The bottom line is that we havet of find ways to make the U.S. a more attractive desiration for investment.

One way to do that is by considering a third rail term: industrial policy, It's accept that needs to be rebranded, because Democrats and Republicans alike shud der at being associated with something so "anti-American." In fact, good industrial policy can be a useful economic nudge. It's not about creating a command and control economy like China's but about the private and public sectors coming together at every level, as in Germany, to decide how best to keep jobs at home.

The lesson of Germany is a good one. Back in 2000, the Germans were facing an economic rebalancing not unlike what the U.S. is experiencing. East and West Germany had unified, creating a huge wealth gap and high unemployment at a time when German jobs were moving to central Europe. The country didn't try to explain away the problem in quarterly blips but rather stared it directly in the face, CEOs sat down with labor leaders as partners; union reps sit on management boards in Germany. The government offered firms temporary subsidies to forestall outsourcing. Corporate leaders worked with educators to churn out a labor force with the right skills. It worked. Today Germany has not only higher levels of growth but also lower levels of unemployment than it did prerecession

In our politically polarized society, such cooperation may seen impossible. But Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall was perhaps far more polarized, it is worth remembering that economic change tends to happen only during crises. We've survived the banking crisis. How we deal with the longer-range crisis—the crisis of growth and unemployment—will define our economic future for not just the next few quarters but the next few quarters but the next few decades.

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WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Grin and Bear It With the economy sputtering again, Washington has no plans to ride to the rescue

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Ohamasat down with House Republicans on June 1 to talk about the exploding public debt, the economic data had been grim for days: another decline in home-values, a new dip in consumer confidence and, just that morning, the lowest manufacturing sector growth rate in more than a year and a dismal payroll reports howing job growth far below expectations.

In another era, these sorts of numbers would have led to a predictable chain of events for either a Republican or a Democratic President: rush to the cameras, empathize with



those suffering the pain and declare that help is on the way. But at the closed-door White House meeting this month, Obama made no mention of new, short-term fixes for the latest had news. Instead, the discussion focused on long-term problems: the inefficient tax code, the federal deficit, growing debt and the need for entitlement reform. House Republicans emerged triumphant, since the debate had shifted to their turf, "I'm looking forward to more serious conversations about how we reduce the deficit and the debt," said Speaker John Boehner.

A few days later, Obama

seemed to minimize the bad news, declaring it little more than "bumps on the road to recovery." But no one should mistake the President's public optimism for a lack of concern. These are white-knuckle days at the White House as the nation awaits word on whether the latest economic disappointments are a blip or a trend that will delay the recovery. No President since Franklin Roosevelt has won re-election with unemployment higher than 7.2%, and Obama's own economists in February predicted 8.6% unemployment in 2012. That number may yet be revised upward in light of recent economic headwinds. including the Japanese earthquake, gasoline prices approaching \$4 a gallon and continued economic troubles in Europe. "We could use a break," admits one Administration official.

But with 7 million fewer people employed than at the start of the recession and only marginal relief in sight, the concern is not merely political. Economists who have left the Obama Administration. including the former top economist Christina Romer. say more stimulus is needed. "The risk is that what we are facing now is many years of anemic growth," says Romer, who believes it's time for a cut in payroll taxes on employers. "We somehow have decided it's O.K. that 9% of the country is unemployed."

For now, Obama's aides have chosen to take a careful path, aiming to spur short term growth while protecting the President from Republican charges that he is a Big Government big spender. How? In public, they talk of "leveraging the private sector" and "investing in the future," with more long-term funds for infrastructure, education

The Economic-Team Hokey Pokey



Jared
Bernstein
A progressive voice
now agitating from
the sidelines



Christina Romer The Depression-era scholar who wishes Democrats did more



Lawrence
Summers
The controversial prodigy returns in the wory tower



ON THE WAY OUT
Austan
Goolsbee
Family and career
trump another year



Jason Furman A rising Democra policy star outlas his mentors



Gene
Sperling
A wheeling, dealing
Clinton vet plays
point man on the Hill

and energy, not more bailouts or stimulus. The White House agrees with Boehner that long-term budget cuts and entitlement reforms could add some confidence to the markets, but some Obama aides also want more short-term stimulus to make sure the economy does not languish. "In an ideal world," says one Obama adviser, "you would still have a little more help to the economy within now."

That ideal world hasn't existed since well before the midterm elections. Exit polls in 2010 found that voters said reducing deficits was a higher priority than spending money to create jobs—a clear

rejection of Keynesian theories, which hold that in hard times, government should increase spending and decrease taxes. The concern was not only among Republicans: 32% of voters who favored deficit reduction voted for Democrats last fall.

Since then, talk of spend-

ing more has been a nonstarter, Yes, the President succeeded in pushing some relief through in December in a deal with Republicans, winning hundreds of billions in tax breaks for business and employees in a deal that also extended tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans, And yes, the Federal Reserve has credited those tax breaks with largely counteracting the effects of rising gas prices this year. But as a political matter, talking about spending more money that the government doesn't have has become too risky. In the absence of a new influx of government support, the President is offering empathy and optimism, as well as smaller initiatives like a new manufacturing skills certification program for community colleges, which will be developed by the private sector. "I'm not concerned about a double-dip recession." Obama said on June 7. "But we've still got some enormous work to do." It is work that will most

likely have to be done without the typical quick-response stimulus, as practized most recently by Ohama and George W. Bush, who cut 5168 billion in checks to Americans in 2008. With the re-lection season already under way, policymaking has moved on. Barring a major downturn, more help is not on the way this year. In Washington, elections matter. The people have spoken. And now, they are on their own.



THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS

Headlines about Muslim Coptic violence hide a more hopeful narranive emerging in the new Egypt: Blam and Christianity can live and build together



ARY IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 7, CHILDERN SWARMED in fromt of the Virgin Mary Church in Cairo's Imbaba slum, carrying pink carnations. They were there to greet Egypt's interim Prime Minister, Essam Sharaf, who had arrived to inaugurate the 51 million rebuilding of the church, which had been burned in an outbreak of sectarian strife in May. But while the initial wave of violence, in which 15 people were killed, made front-page headlines around the world and stoked fears that the Arab Spring was devolving into a Summer of Discontent, the news of the exultant reopening barely made a blip. That gap hints at a larger truth instead of exacerbating religious tension, as is commonly perceived, the Arab Spring may be opening a new era in Islam's relations with the rest of the world.

Beyond their political implications, the religious dimensions of the Middle East uprisings have always been central, particularly to the West. Ever since of tr., the West and Islam have been locked in a chilly standoff. The relationship was captured by Harvard professor Samuel Huntington's lightningrod phrase "the Clash of Givilizations." Huntington's lightningis, which was roundly trashed when it was published as an article in 1939 but became a best seller in book form following. Sept. 11, was that Islam taught Muslims to be hostile to freedom, pluralism and individualism.

At first blush, the Arab Spring seemed to render Huntington's idea deader than ever. In up to 20 Islamic countries, Muslims marched in the face of bullets, tanks and water cannons, demanding the exact human dignities that parades of commentators had assured the American public Muslims didn't want. If anything, the uprisings of 2011, coupled with the death of Osama bin Laden, raised the tantalizing possibility that the West and Islam, which came to the brink of a Holy War in the past decade, might finally be able to build a Holy Peace. Could the Clash of Civilizations be giving way at last to the Convergence of Civilizations?

In recent months, the news from Eypt suggested the answer is no. The downfall of the dictator Hosni Muharak seemed to unleash all kinds of pent-up religious hatreds. One of the most visible began in Imbaba on May 7. Rumors circulated that a Christian woman who had converted to Islam to marry a Muslim man had been kidnapped and was being held captive in a local church, St. Mina. Muslims, many from the ultraconservative Salafi sect, began marching on the facility. Coptic Christians, who make up about 10% of the country, hurried to its defense. Thousands gathered, brandishing makeshift weapons and hurling insults. Street fighting broke out, and by the time the melee ended the following morning, 15 people had been killed and more than 200 wounded, and three Coptic churches, including the Virgin Mary Church, were in flames.

Episodes like this one, reported around the world, fit into a



narrative of extremist Muslim aggression and intolerance that has dominated American public discourse since Sept. 11. But what this story line misses is that a powerful new narrative has emerged from the Middle East in recent months that, for the first time in a generation, poses a serious threat to the fundamentalists' appeal. And that narrative can also be told from the recent sectarian events in Egypt. It is a story of the rise of a moderate coalition and its counterattack against extremism.

The best example of that story unfolded two hours south of Cairo in the tiny village of Sol, in Helwan governate. A place of dirt-lined streets on the border of the desert, Sol was the site of the first church burning in the days after Mubarak's fall. Rumors played a large part in this conflict toos a Christian had been in a romantic relationship with a Muslim woman, a domestic dispute broke out within the woman's family over her actions, and two people were killed, including her father.

After the funerals, a crowd of Muslims went looking for the Christian man, who they heard had sought refuge in the church. When word spread that someone found evidence that black magic was being performed on Muslims inside the church, the crowd set the building ablaze. It was exactly the sort of violence Mubarak had warned about for years: Keep me in power or sectarian divisions will rin anarth the country.

Only this time, just as quickly as this situation flared, something unexpected happened. A group of young Muslim and Christian leaders in Cairo who had worked together during the revolution swept into Sol to address the situation. The group was





Spirit of togetherness Coptic Christians and Muslims raise a cross and the Qur'an on the 13th day of the protests in Tahrir Square calling for the end of the Mubarak regime

building on the spirit of Muslim-Christian partnership that had developed in Tahrir Square. Day after day during the revolution. Christians locked arms to protect Muslims during prayers. Muslims did the same for Christians during Mass.

On occasion, Muslims and Christians linked arms to protect Cairo's historic synagogue. The protesters even adopted an inter locking crescent and cross as their symbol of a new Egypt. Hossam Bahgat, executive director of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, which tracks sectariant strife, says that "during the revolution, the moral threshold shifted. Suddenly everyone, including the Muslim Brotherhood, was saying. Of course Egypt is for all Egyptians. Of course there should be no discrimination."

Sol offered a test of this harmony, and the results were striking. Within 2a hours, Hany Hanna Aziz Hanna, a conservator with the Department of Antiquities who became one of the leading Copts during the revolution, helped organize a delegation to visit the town. Members included Muslim Brotherhood political head Mohamed el-Beltagy. Salafi shelk Mohamed Hassan and various military leaders. The delegation hosted reconciliation talks in a local dignitary's house, then held a unity rally outdoors. As popular televancelist Amr Khaled, often called "Islam's Billy was a support of the control of the contro

'My message here today for Muslims and Christians is, Let's be one hand.'

-AMR KHALED, MUSLIM

Graham," told the crowd, "My message here today for Muslims and Christians is, Let's be one hand."

The military promised to rebuild the church. When I visited a few weeks later, the four-story facility and adjoining community center were already abuzz with activity. As armored personnel carriers protected the narrow road, dozens of menoil all ages, social classes and faiths—were busy laying bricks, stretching electrical wire and hammering studs. It was the visible manifestation of an evolving Middle East. "I think we can be an example to other countries where Muslims and Christians live side by side," Hanna told me.

A similar outpouring followed the recent attacks in Cairo. Egypt's most respected Muslim religious authority, the Sheik of al-Azhar, denounced the violence, as did the Muslim Brother-hood. Youth organizers called a unity rally for Tahrir Square. And most telling of all, Prime Minister Sharaf canceled a trip abroad to summon an emergency Cabinet meeting, the military council arrested 190 people and subsequently announced it would put 48 on trial, and the government issued a ban on demonstrations in front of houses of worship. Reaction, counterreaction. It was a struggle for the future of faith.

So how should we in the West respond to all of this? First, we should be reminded once again that Islam itself is not the problem. Sure, the Qur'an, like the Bible, can be exploited for political purposes. Sure, a conservative form of Islam is still popular in the Middle Fast. But so Is a more centrist, sensible version that denounces violence and rejects extremism. A poll taken in April, after the events in Sol, showed that 84% of Egyp tians thought Copts and other minorities should be able to practice their religion freely.

Second, we should remember that the chief battle in the Middle East right now is for the hearts and minds of young people not the Arab street, as we've been wrongly branding them, but the Arab schoolhouse. These young Muslims are actively involved in shaping events, and they are willing to take on entrenched forces, including religious ones.

Third, we should recognize that young people now have two competing narratives from which to choose: the jihadists' call for orthodoxy, violence and terrorism, or the path, which the youth

y, violence and terrorism, or the path, which the youth helped create this year, of coessistence, ballot boxes and job opportunities. Our role in the West should be to help cultivate this new narrative, to hear in its messy, pluralist totality the voice of moderate Islam we have been claiming we want to hear since Sept. 11, And to look past the headlines of church burnings and recognize the miracles of Imbaba and Sol.



Adapted from Generation Freedom by Bruce Feiler, © 2011. Published by Harper Perennial

HOW TO STOP THE SUPERBUGS

The E. coli outbreak that started in Germany reveals how hard it is to police a global food supply—and how important, as bacteria grow more deadly

BY ALICE PARK

LORAL CONTACIONS ALWAYS start off small, and like most small things, they're easy to miss. The patient in Hamburg who went to the hospital on May 18 complaining of diarrhea, cramps and vomiting and was first suspected of having an inflammatory bowel condition would likely have gone unnotited. But when four more patients in the same city became ill over the next two days with similar symptoms. German health officials started to pay attention.

Within weeks, the country-and soon the continent and the rest of the worldhad a disaster on its hands, battling one of the biggest outbreaks ever of deadly E. coli bacteria. The infection has spread to a dozen countries, sickened more than 2,600 people and caused 25 deaths. One American has a confirmed case of the bug, and three others in the U.S. who recently visited Hamburg may have gotten sick from it as well. Authorities know what is responsible-a particularly nasty and rare version of E. coli called O104:H4-but figuring out how this pathogen made its way into the food supply is a trickier challenge. First it was Spanish cucumbers-but then it wasn't. Then it was German sprouts, except it wasn't those either-unless maybe it really was, some unconvinced health officials still warn, as the investigation continues. In both cases, smart epidemiological tracking pointed straight to those suspects, but DNA testing failed to nail them. Russia, which is hoping for membership in the World Trade Organization, took a characteristically externe approach, hanning imports of all European Union produce. U.S. consumes are holding their breath, knowing that an increasingly glohalized food market means that Ecofin Hamburg could be just a single transatlantic shipment away from becoming. E. coli in Houston or Harrisburg, And given the most recent report from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), that worry may be justified.

In its latest evaluation of food-borne illnesses, the agency reports that in the past 15 years, outbreaks of salmonella infection in the U.S. from contaminated foods such as eggs, meat, poultry and nuts have not declined, despite efforts to improve education about safe handling of food. And while a newly passed law gives the Food and Drug Administration expanded authority to inspect, test and hold imported foods until they are deemed safe to eat, budget cuts threaten to strip the agency of those powers before it can exercise them. President Obama requested \$955 million for foodsafety measures in his most recent budget, but the House Appropriations Committee slashed that request to \$750 million, or \$87 million below what the agency is already investing in the area. Still, while it's true that our food supply faces serious challenges, the U.S. has some advantages over the E.U. when it comes to preventing this kind of disaster.

Europe's response to the current outbreak has been so scattered mainly because there's no single authority in charge—either across the continent or within Germany.







Disease Detectives Tracing an outbreak back to its source



the cases Once public-health

officials suspect an nossible cases Symptoms the victims a possible cause, in this case, E. coli, Both sick and healthy

questionnaires where they ate and



With questionnaire investigators refine their search, trying to trace where the

infected food came from. Which grocery did the sick individuals frequent? Did they all visit a particular farm or other facility?



the foods. Since most such businesses get shipments from various distributors, this can take days or even weeks.



the search Investigators go to distributors'

warehouses and inspect their records and current supplies. They study packaging and try to determine which farms provided which products at the



5. At the source The final investigations

farms where the food was grown. The teams inspect crops (including irrigation animals to vegetable fields). They look at as packing methods to bacteria came from infected animals or was spread by handling. ,

The Robert Koch Institute in Berlin is the nation's federal authority for disease control, but state health officials are conducting their own tests and often release their find ings directly to the public. "There is no central network to coordinate the response to an E. coli outbreak on a national level," says Flemming Scheutz, director of the World Health Organization's E. coli research center at Statens Serum Institute in Copenhagen. As an E.U. member country, Germany is obliged to report food-contamination incidents to the European Commission, which has its own disease-control center and alert system for outbreaks. Piecemeal surveillance leads to a fragmented investigative network, which, coupled with the pressure to find a culprit fast, can easily result in the kinds of unconfirmed reports that have occurred in the past few weeks.

The U.S. is hardly monolithic when it comes to dealing with food-borne contagions; 50 states means 50 state health departments that can get involved in an investigation. But the CDC links with local officials and serves as a centralized clearinghouse for information and laboratory testing. In a 2006 outbreak of a strain of E. coli that sickened nearly 200 people, it took the agency and two state health departments just six days from the first identification of clusters of illness to trace the contamination to spinach at specific processing plants.

But good coordination is not always enough. No matter how strong food-safety policies are, bugs like E. coli can find their way into meat and other foods, especially fruits and vegetables such as spinach, peppers and onions. In fact, we live with certain colonies of E. coli in our gut, and the bugs are essential to helping us digest and break down food. But E. coli is notoriously promiscuous, adept at swapping genetic material not just with other strains but with other organisms as well. Crowded conditions for cattle, sheep and other livestock that can harbor colonies of E. coli provide the ideal environment for games of genetic roulette. And all of that makes the bacterium especially nimble, able to mutate easily into ever more destructive forms. The U.S. got a taste of that nightmare in 1993, when E. coli O157 caused its first significant outbreak of illness, with others to follow-principally through hamburger meat and spinach.

The current bug, O104:H4, is even deadlier. A rare strain that in the past has caused illness in limited numbers only. O104:H4 combines a powerful toxin known as Shiga toxin with a form of bacterial glue that sticks the organism to the gut wall for up to two weeks, providing it with the perfect spot from which to release its poison. Once in our bodies, the toxin breaks down red blood cells, leading to clots and strokes. and targets kidney cells, causing a form of kidney failure known as hemolytic uremic syndrome (HUS)-and sometimes death. Some patients who develop HUS and recover may need dialysis for the rest of their lives. "In terms of the numbers of cases of HUS, what we're seeing in Germany is much bigger than anything we've seen before," says Dr. Robert Tauxe of the CDC. "That does surprise me."

In most E. coli outbreaks, contamination starts with an infected ruminant-a cow, sheep or goat. Although it doesn't become ill, once the animal is slaughtered, the raw meat can cause illness, and people or utensils that come into contact with the raw meat can spread the contamination. Cooking contaminated meat generally kills E. coli, but increasingly, the bacteria have been showing up in produce that most people eat raw. Farmers often use manure to fertilize vegetable crops, and contaminated feces could spread the bacteria to these foods. Infected runoff from agricultural pastures could also reach crops and deposit E. coli in the roots or leaves of plants. Given that we're in the midst of the spring and summer growing season, more people are eating fresh produce, which may be a reason so many have become ill.

And treating these people isn't easy. Antibiotics aren't always the answer, since the drugs may merely provoke the bugs and lead them to pump out even more toxin. Much of the health care patients need involves hydration with intravenous fluids and treatment of blood clots, strokes and kidney failure with the appropriate supportive therapies.

As the number of new cases starts to abate, many countries, including the U.S., will continue to put German imports under special scrutiny. Meanwhile, individuals can take preventive action like washing their hands before and after handling raw food, thoroughly washing produceespecially the kinds eaten raw-and cooking food properly. "The tragic E. coli outbreak in Europe reminds us that investing in prevention of food-safety problems is ultimately the only way to provide the protection that consumers expect and to avoid economic and social disruption," says Dr. Elisabeth Hagen, Under Secretary for Food Safety at the U.S. Department of Agriculture. For now, the U.S. maintains a bit of an edge in this kind of preparedness, but it's an edge that could erode fast. -WITH REPORTING BY LEO CENDROWICZ/

Eater Beware To see 10 of the most pivotal food scares ever, visit time.com/foodscares



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Life After High School We're obsessed with those four years.



But new research shows we're not defined by them By Annie Murphy Paul



ZOE SEMISC, 15 "I didn't even consider myself as being in a specific group. Maybe it's my school, but it's not that cliquey."



BRYAN REYNOSO, 14 "Me and my friends consider ourselves the cool kids because we're just very chill and love making music and performing and dancing."

about many scary things: the firebombing of Dresden, the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the specter of individuals controlled by the state or by technology. But the most unnerving image he ever put on paper may have been this, written when he was 4y years old, recounting the words of a fellow Indianapolis high school of a fellow indianapolis high school with which we was 4 words of a fellow indianapolis being ruled by people you went to high school with ... You all of a sudden catch on that life is nothing but life is shool."

It's achilling vision. The cutthroat competition, ruthless power plays and rigid status hierarchy all extended into eternity? Even those of us who liked high school wouldn't want to spend a lifetime there.

Ormaybe wedo. Popular culture is dominated by depictions of high school (Ber and Gossip Girl, High School Musical and Prom. Earlier generations mined the same terrain. from Grosea and The Bredgist Glab to Boerly Hills, opazo and My So-Called Life. Our educational system is fixated on the performance of high school students, the key to their all-important college admissions. Socialnetworking sites mean you never have to lose touch with your friends from high school. And every spring we enter the promcommencement reunion cycle, a trifects of tearjerkers that suggest that high school is

Recent research suggests that popularity isn't an entirely positive phenomenon

still very much with us. The latest trend is "adult proms": formal dances for grownups, complete with sequined dresses and rented tuxedos, which are being held this spring in Fort Wayne, Ind.; Beverly, Mass.; Decatur, Ga.; and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. "Prom the way you always wanted it," read the ad for an adult prom in Green Bay, Wis.

Are those four fraught years the crucible in which our adult identities are forged, or are they a passing phase, faded as an orchid corsage? I found myself confronted by this question when the phone rang at my house this spring, "Hello, Annie," said the startlingly familiar voice on the other end. "This is Mr. Frank." In an instant, the 20 years since I graduated from high school evaporated, and I was back in his 11thgrade history class-back in the world of pop quizzes, of homeroom and gym class, of cafeteria cliques and student-body elections. But Mr. Frank was calling to invite me to be the commencement speaker at this year's graduation.

if he had called to award me a Nobel Prize. I had been a quiet and studious teenager, a bespectacled wallflower among the chatty debutantes and lacrosse players at my allgirls private school. I bloomed later, in col lege, where I wrote a column for the school newspaper and co-edited a campus magazine; as an adult, I became a journalist and an author - which, presumably, is why my school asked me to speak. But what would I say? My idiosyncratic path toward career and family would seem to offer little guidance to young people on the matters they find most pressing: What does the future hold for them? How will their teenage experiences affect their adult lives? Will the identities they formed in high school carry over into the real world, or will they be able, if they choose, to leave them behind?

Popularity Contests

"We'V ALL WINDERED AT TIMES IT HIGH school determines who we become as adults, and now we have the empirical data to test that notion; "says Pamela Hard an associate professor of public affairs and sociology at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Herd is the codirector of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, one of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, one of the Hargest and longest-running investigations of how lives unfold in high school and heyond. The study, funded by the National Institute on Aging, has followed more





RACHEL TRACHTENBURG, 17 "I would identify myself with artsy weirdos."

than 10,000 members of Wisconsin's 1957 graduating class for more than 50 years, beginning when they were seniors and continuing through decades of establishing careers and raising families to their lives as retirees and grandparents.

The Wisconsin program is the grand daddy of ageneration of studies that are just coming to fruition. They're being gioned by a slew of shorter-term studies conducted by psychologists, sociologists, cenomists and epidemiologists. Researchers from varied fields who have all taken an interest in the high school years. "Social scientists are real izing that many of our adult untomes can be traced back, at least in part, to our experimences in high school," saws Robert Crosnoc, a sociologist at the University of Texas at Austin and the author of Hitting In Standing Out, a new book that draws on his seven year study of the adolescent social solescent social sedescent social sedescent

It's not just the turbulent life stage of adolescence that has consequences for our later lives, Crosnoe stresses, but also the interactions of this developmental transition with the structures and hierarchies of high school. The institution hast is origins in the secondary schools of the early spit he entury, but it was only in the past 50 years or so-when high schools swelled as the children of the baby boom entered adolescence and youth culture took center stage.—Hat our popular notion of high school took shape. Namely: high school as a formative life

experience, as social as it is academic, in which students encounter a jostling bazaar of potential identities—from jock to prep to geek—and choose (or are assigned) one that will stay with them for years to come.

And yes, there's some truth to the yearbook predictions, social scientists find. Broadly speaking, the brainy grinds and the glad-handing class officers achievesue cess as adults. The jocks are fitter and in better health. The outcasts and dropouts are more likely to be depressed and unemployed. The kids who drank and smoked pot under the bleachers are mostly still drinking and dopine, sometimes to excess.

But it may be time for a re evaluation of many of our notions about what matters in

'I was a floater, someone who could sit at the edge of a lot of different groups in the cafeteria but who never felt fully part of any of them.'

AUTHOR OF THE GEEKS SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH high school, say researchers who study ado lescence and its aftermath, including popularity and friendship, intelligence and hard work. For example, "popularity is not all it's cracked up to be," says Kathleen Boykin McElhanev, a psychologist at the University of Virginia. Her study of 164 adolescents. published in the journal Child Development in 2008, found that teenagers who don't belong to their schools' in groups can still function well socially-if they find a com fortable niche among their classmates. As long as they feel happy with themselves and their friends, it doesn't matter how popular they are. "Our work shows that popularity isn't all that important," says McElhaney. "The key is finding a group of people with

whom you can feel ateease being yourself."
Indeed, recent research suggests that
popularity isn't entirely positive. Belonging in
to the cool crowd is associated with higher
rates of drinking, drug use, sexual activity
and minor defluquency during adolesence.
And the connection between social status
and risky behavior may be a lasting one:
a study co-authored last year by Mardene
Williams College, reported that popularity
in high school was associated with higher rates of substance abuse and sexual promiscuity in the three-wears after craduation.

What's more, popular kids may not even be well liked. Researchers distinguish between two types of popularity: "perceived





Where Are They Now?

qualities carry into

The Class Officer

High school students who are service and student more likely to vote. as adults

The Cheerleader

have determined had in high school 35 years later premium,"

The Brain

students with good grades and test scores are more likely to go to college and more likely to ing, data from the Wisconsin class the higher a rank in high school. bility that he or late midiffe age

The Jock

Research has long high school athletes make more money sports. More recent athletics can make women too; girls come women who are more likely to male dominated

popularity," or how socially prominent individuals are, and "sociometric popularity." or how well liked they are. Membership in the two groups often doesn't overlap. Sociometrically popular teens have a wide group of friends and are described by classmates as "trustworthy" and "kind"; perceivedpopular students are admired and envied by their peers but are also regarded as "arrogant" and "stuck-up." And no wonder: many studies have linked perceived popularity to high levels of what researchers call "relational aggression": spreading gossip, engaging in taunting and bullying and practicing exclusion and the silent treatment in order to maintain one's social position.

If the populars don't have a lock on friendship, neither do the brains have an exclusive claim on post-high school success. In a study conducted last year, Stephen D.H. Hsu and James Schombert, physics professors at the University of Oregon, analyzed undergraduates' high school test scores and college grades. "Low SAT scores do not preclude high performance in most majors," they reported. High-achieving students often get that way through dogged effort, they pointed out, rather than innate brilliance. "Our results suggest that almost any student admitted to university can achieve academic success, if they work hard enough," the authors concluded. Another study, by economists leffrey

S. Zax and Daniel I. Rees of the University of Colorado, examined the connection between individuals' IQ and academic performance, measured in the last year of high school, and how much money they were making in their mid-30s and then in their early 50s. Using data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, they concluded that "previous analyses have overstated the role of intelligence in economic success." Hard work and the development of capacities like conscientiousness and cooperation also matter for success-not to mention per sonal satisfaction and fulfillment. Coveted as they are in high school, brains and popularity get you only so far in the real world.

The Quirk Factor

THAT'S A MESSAGE MANY OF TODAY'S HIGH school students need to hear. An increasing number of American teenagers feel excluded by a relentlessly conformist school environment, says Alexandra Robbins, author of the new book The Geeks Shall Inherit the Earth. They're the casualties of a Lord of the Flies social scene defined by the pressures of standardized tests and college admissions, the hypersexual and hypermaterialistic advertising of retailers like Abercrombie & Fitch and the mean-girl dramas of shows like Gossip Girl. Robbins calls them the "cafeteria fringe": the kids who can't find a seat at the table at lunchtime, who are rejected for infractions as minor as wearing the wrong jeans. An author of several best-selling books

on young people, Robbins began thinking about these students' plight when she was visiting schools across the country to speak





JULIA CUMMING, 15 "I think it's important to have at least a few close friends."

about her zoo6 book, The Overachieves.

"Kids would come up to talk to me affer my readings, and the ones! I found most interesting and appealing were often those who described themselves as outsiders," she says. "I wanted to know what their experience of high school was like and what happened to them after graduation."

The result was The Geeks, which contends that young people will be well served in adult life by the same characteristics that made them unpopular in high school. She calls this premise "quirk theory" and describes it this way: "Many of the differences that cause a student to be excluded in school are the identical traits or real-world skills that others will value, love, respect or find compelling about that person in adulthood and outside the school setting." If Robbins is any guide, high school outcasts have a lot to look forward to. Attractive, confident and successful, Robbins cheerfully admits that she was a dork in high school, "I was a floater," she says, "someone who could sit at the edge of a lot of different groups in the cafeteria but who never felt fully part of any of them." Finding herself at home on many weekend nights, Robbins threw herself into her studies. She was admitted to Yale and flourished in college and in life.

But she remains in touch with her inner outsider. "I'm still a dork," she claims. "I'm sure my dorkiness has helped me in my work—helped me to connect with teenagers and convey their sense of the world in my writing." Robbins wants kids who are suffering through high school nowto know what she's come to realize in retrospect.
"There is nothing wrong with you just be cause you havent yet met people who share cause you havent yet met people who share your interests or outlook on life," she tells something unhealthy or destructive, take greeks. "Unless you are doing something unhealthy or destructive, take Know that you will eventually meet people who will appreciate you of the feat of the world."

For some unhappy teens, though, life is bad in high school and threatens to stay that way if they don't get help. For these students—the ones with drug and alcohol problems, the ones who are bullied and harassed, the ones who drop out of school altogether—intervention by adults is more important than ever, asys Crosnoe. "Education is critical to making our way in today's society, especially today's conomy, and kids who miss out on the full academic and social experience of high school will feel the effects of that lack reverberate through their ilves for many years to cone."

For the rest of sh, high school is one important experience among many—a lasting
influence but hardly determinative. In the
study by Zax and Rees, the authors ended
on an unexpected note. "The most striking
result," they said, was how little they were
able to predict about people's adult lives from
characteristics measured in adolescence. At
least 75% of the variation seen among people
in middle age couldn't be foreted ifform what
they were like in high school—meaning,
they wrote, that "there is plenty of oppor-

tunity for individuals to rise above or fall below the level to which their endowments and environment might direct them."

This, I've decided, is what I'll tell the class of zort at my high school. Don't put any limits on what you think you can do. I was a shy, bookish teenager who hid behind long hair. Now I go on television to talk about my books and articles and give speeches without feeling asingle butterfly. What you'll become may be beyond you'll magning now. Who, after all, would have predicted that a long-haired loner like Bruce Springsteen from Freehold High School in New Jersey would become the Boss? That Barry Obama, the Scholarship kid at Purnahou School in Hawaii, would become President of the United States?

Or consider the student who was the Tuesday editor of his high school's daily newspaper, the kid who worked at the fam liy hardware store in the summer, the one affectionately called Snarf by his classmates for absentmindedly sniffing his armpits. Who would have predicted hed go on to write Slaughterhouse Pive and Carls Cradle? This classmates, he was just "Kurt Snarfield Vonnegut It," as the gibe in his high school vearbook went.

But that was before: before Vonnegut fought in a world war, before he fell in love with his wife and raised his children, before he trained his keen eye and acid tongue on the foibles of American society. The same society that just loves to remisee about high school.

- "...it's awesome...the best sounding TV ever made!"
- "...the most dramatic home theater product introduced since the
- "...eliminates complexity, confusion and the clutter...impeccably conceived system." Rich Warren, News Gazette
- "...the Click Pad Remote...which can control up to five high definition entertainment devices, makes this a powerful system that's simply controlled with a single remote." Murray Hill, Today Hill, Hill,
- "...Bose's new click pad...is the most user-friendly universal remote we've ever tried." The Wall Street Journal



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OME 150 MILES NORTH OF Phoenix, on the edge of Arizona's Tonto National Forest-a stark high-desert landscape of burnt-orange mesas, saguaro cacti and ponderosa pines-sits the state's first commercial-scale wind farm. The giant turbines of the Dry Lake Wind Power Project resemble the creatures that literary hero Don Quixote jousted against in La Mancha. Which is fitting, since this wind farm is owned by Iberdrola Renovables, the world's biggest producer of wind power, based in Valencia, Spain. With operations in 23 countries, including Britain, Romania and Brazil. Iberdrola Renovables is rolling hard and fast, nowhere more so than in the United States. Chairman Ignacio Galán could not be more effusive about his company's prospects there, calling the Obama Administration's support of renewables an "unprecedented success." The company's rapid-fire growth was made possible by President Obama's decision to invest heavily in renewable energy to fight climate change-and recessionunder his economic-recovery plan. As part of that plan, Iberdrola received over \$1 billion in cash grants from the U.S. Treasury, the biggest sum ever awarded to a renewable company anywhere.

Wind is still a relatively small part of the U.S. energy grid: it makes up just 2.4% of total supply. (Renewables as a whole make up 11%, with hydro at 7% and the balance coming from solar, geothermal and biomass.) President Obama's latest target is to have 80% of U.S. energy needs supplied by clean sources by 2035. Environmentalists are pushing for as much as 35% of that to come from renewables. Hydropower is not expected to move the needle, because this would require construction of hugely expensive megadams with questionable environmental impacts. Solar is unlikely to contribute much without a technological breakthrough that makes it price competitive. That leaves wind to do the heavy lifting.

Fortunately, there's plenty of it in the U.S., which, along with Canada, Russia and China, is one of the prime natural sources of wind power in the world. Last year alone in the U.S., Iberdrola brought a total of 1,043 megawatts of new wind capacity onstream in places like Washington, Oregon and Texas-enough to power nearly 700,000 households. And so far this year, U.S. output makes up over 40% of Iberdrola Renovables' total energy production. Last month, Galán flew to Washington to meet with Energy Secretary Steven Chu and Commerce Secretary Gary Locke. During these meetings, Galán announced his intention to continue

Blow, Wind, Blow Obama is pushing for green energy, but the

U.S. still has far to go

Goal for the share of U.S. power from cleanenergy sources by 2035

Percentage of U.S. energy currently generated by renewables

Rusiness 2



Neighborhoods powered by parks.

An underground substation built by Siemens helps make Anaheim a city worth building a future in.

As the residents of Anaheim, California, walk their dogs in the morning, few realize there's a substation right under their feet distributing power throughout their neighborhood.

The station under Roosevelt Park delivers much-needed power to 25,000 people. It's the first underground substation in America, a feat made possible by an advanced design that makes it 70 percent smaller than traditional substations.

It seems like such a simple idea. But by putting the substation beneath the ground instead of above it, Siemens helped make life in Anaheim a little bit better.

Today, cities across the nation face countless choices about how to generate, distribute, and use electricity. Those choices call for unconventional thinking - because that's the kind of thinking that leads to truly lasting answers.

Somewhere in America, our team of more than 60,000 employees spends every day creating answers that will last for years to come.

Bull market in wind Transmission towers in Galapagar, Spain

expanding rapidly in the U.S. at least until the end of 2012, by which time he is expected to have invested \$6 billion.

Many other countries are falling in line. The fact is that wind has emerged as the hot test source of green electrical power global. Jy, and its momentum is only going to build in the wake of Iapan's Fukushima Dailich power plant dissert, which has forced people to reassess the dangers surrounding nuclear installations. "Whild is the most likely candidate for driving the long-awaited shift toward renewable energy," says Daniel Weiss, a senior fellow at the Center for American Propressin Washington.

In the past four years, wind has become the leading source of new electrical power in the U.S., exceeding coal and nuclear combined. In some E.U. countries, including Denmark, Portugal and Spain, wind already accounts for anywhere from 11% to 26% of power generation. Meanwhile, the E.U. is working to double the share of energy derived from wind and other renewable sources, such as solar, geothermal and biomass. to 26% by 2020.

The net result is that last year, wind energy across the world reduced CO₂ emissions by an amount equal to 26% of the target for developed countries under the Kyoto Protocol, the U.N.'s action plan for fighting climate change. The fact that Dherdrola Renovables, which has morphed into a 35 billion juggernaut from a standing start just 10 years ago, has come to dominate this fast growing sector is due in large part to government support. Spain was among the first countries in the world to encourage the development of renew.

able energy with government subsidies and targets. (Today, on particularly breezy days, wind-power generation surpasses all other electricity sources in Spain.)

What separated Iberdrola Renovables from its domestic rivals was an aggressive mergers-and-acquisitions strategy. Its parent Iberdrola SA's acquisition of Scottish Power in 2007 created the third largest power utility in Europe, with significant renewable-energy assets in the U.S. At the same time, Iberdrola Renovables began spending \$3 billion a year on expanding its global footprint of wind farms, becoming the No. 1 provider in Spain, Britain and Eastern Europe. "The key to success in this industry is having money and deploying it in a favorable regulatory environment," says energy analyst Matthew Yates of Bank of America Merrill Lynch in London. "Iberdrola Renovables has accomplished both."

lberdrola and a host of other wind companies will be rolling out more power globally this year, in countries ranging from Greece and the Czech Republic to China and India, yet wind still makes up a tiny 2% of worldwide electricity production.

'Wind is the most likely candidate for driving the longawaited shift toward renewable energy.'

CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS

Whether wind is able to make a serious dent in the consumption of dirty fossil fuels will to a large extent depend on success in the U.S. Consider that every day, 21 million of 85 million barrels of oil produced around the world are burned there. That's 25% of the world's oil supply consumed by just 4% of the world's population. Transport eats up the lion's share, and wind isn't a viable transport energy, but nearly 30% of American oil consumption goes to industrial, commercial and residential uses. If a portion of this low-hanging fruit could be replaced by a combination of natural gas and renewable energy like wind, then cleaner energy will have scored a major victory against the U.S.'s addiction to foreign oil.

A lack of clear and consistent regulation will be a major hurdle. There are 30 states with renewable standards. But unlike most EU, countries, the US. does not have a national quota compelling major power utilities to buy a percentage of their electricity from renewable sources—a must for sustained development of wind and solar, as proved by Spain, Portugal and Germany. "There is a disconnect between what the population wants and what is being done legislatively," says Liz Salerno, chief economist of the American Wind Energy Association.

Whysishat? Mainly because the fossil fuel industries are lobbying Congress hard to block any legislation that would impose federal standards for renewable energy or diminish their special status. This includes \$55 billion each year in tax breaks and discounted royalty payments as a result of \$200 million in lobbying and political contributions. By contrast, the clean-energy lobby, which includes wind and solar, spent \$20, million in 200.

and souls, spent, sqo, million in 2010. The other major coming challenge is termination of the Treasury's grant program for renewables at the end of 2012. Without another extension, financial support for wind producers will dry up, which could stop America's green shift dead in its tracks. It brings to mind President Jimmy Carter's pledge more than 30 years ago will derive 20% of its energy needs from solar power by the end of the century. That pledge lasted as long as oil was scarce and prices were high, then evaporated when OPEC. Lifted its embargo and began resupplying the U.S. with oil from the Middle East.

For now, the outlook is still favorable. Iberdrola's next big installation, the Blue Creek Wind Farm in western Ohio, comes onstream later this year. It will produce enough electricity to power some 200,000 U.S. households, proving that renewables aren't ust tilting at windmills.



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Pop Chart





An auction of the Unabomber's hoodie and other personal items raked in more

Non-NBC

Bids on the U.S. TV rights for the ESPN, ABC and Fox.



Why Can't Coldplay Stop Crying?

Chris Martin

has finally out-The British rock band's new single, Is a Waterfall" (history's most

title?), will appear. along with the song "Hurts like Heaven," on Coldplay's forthcoming, album. That is, if

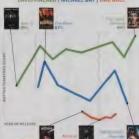
long enough to

How Hollywood's Mighty Fall

When, exactly, did M. Night Shyamalan start making bad movies? Almost immediately, according to the Hollywood Career-O-Matic. The joint project by Slate and Rotten Tomatoes allows users to track any movie notable's critical trajectory. Shyamalan's slide is steep, from The Sixth Sense (an 85% rating) all the way to The Last Airbender (6%). Here is a look at three others:

CAREER-O-MATIC

DAVID FINCHER | MICHAEL BAY | UWE BOLL





Singin' in the Ring

Every Broadway production has to fight to get made, so a potential new show based on the film Rocky has its work cut out for it. Songs have not yet been announced for the production-which hopes to launch in Germany in fall 2012, followed by a Broadway debut in spring 2013—so we decided to write one of our own.

> The Ballad of Rocky and Apollo Two men/ One ring

It's on when y'hear that ding, ding One fight/ Pow, pow Who's the one who's gonna fly now?



Revolving Networks

After greeting early birds on NBC's Today show and anchoring CBS Evening News, Katie Couric will try to give ABC an afternoon-slot dynamo-and fill the gap left by Oprah-when her syndicated talk show debuts in fall 2012.



TECHNOLOGY Les Tweets?

Mais Non! French anchors must bid adieu to Facebook and Twitter, Because of a decree banning both overt and subtle promotion

on the news, officials have barred broadcasters from mentioning the companies unless they are reporting on them. Generic references to social media will have to do.

'If you took naked pictures of yourself on your cell phone, you hide your face, people.'

CLOCKNISS FROM LEFT U.S. MARSHALS PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE/AP GREGORY SMI



HIGH COLOR New York City's High Line opened a new section June 8, doubling the length of the public park built atop an old elevated railroad track. The extension includes a lawn for visitors to sprawl out on and several public art pieces, including Rainbow City, above, an interactive installation made of colorful balloons in various shapes and sizes.

MUSIC

Explicit Expression

On the heels of Rihanna's bondage-friendly music video for "S&M," which was banned in 11 countries, "Man Down" depicts a sexual-assault victim who tracks down her perpetrator and shoots him in the head. She joins a starry club of women who have used the format to tear up taboos (and sometimes tear off clothing).

RIHANNA



VIOLENCE Calling "Man Down"

risque video to be



GENOCIDE

M.I.A.'s 2010 statement against genocide and racial profiling, "Born redheaded boys being







SACRILEGE

seduces a saint-acts

FIONA APPLE



SEXUALITY

Apple's critics said her the singer's message of



NUDITY

then, completely nude



CARTOONS **A Smurfy** Scandal

Smurf society was an exemplar of communism, says French academic Antoine Buéno, who accuses the blue characters of red bellefs (as well as new book. Smurf fans have dubbed his work a "dream wrecker."



5 THINGS YOU WORRY ABOUT

1. Living in a nation responsible for the worst music video ever. Norway and Tonje Langeteig may

2. The stigma of being a middle-aged gamer. The average age for someone who plays video or computer games in the U.S. is 37.

3. Being a pothead in Connecticut. Marijuana has been

4. James Franco ever taking a break. His experimental in July.

5. Jon Stewart. He cut

Movies

Comeback Kids. A visit to the set of the new Muppets film

By Joel Stein

I'M NOT SURE WHETHER THE VIBE IS coming from the Muppets or from Jason Segel, but everyone is really happy on this set. Actually, I'm not sure there's much of a difference between the Muppets and Segel, the 31-year-old star and co-writer of the new Muppets movie (in theaters Nov. 23). Between takes, Segel out-Muppets the actual Muppets, his grin still Kermit-wide long after the real Kermit the Frog closes his mouth and collapses around puppeteer Steve Whitmire's hand. In the right opera balcony above the stage-which looks a lot like the original Muppet Show setcrusty Muppet critics Statler and Waldorf shake their heads disapprovingly at Segel's enthusiasm. In the left opera balcony, the movie's producers shake their heads too. "If you could peel away lason's skin," says producer Todd Lieberman, "there might be felt underneath."

Segel took a lot of meetings with studios after the success of the Judd Apatow-produced comedy Forgetting Sarah Marshall (2008), which Segel starred in and wrote. He played a frustrated puppet-musical playwright who, in the movie's most famous scene. gets dumped by his girlfriend while he's full-frontally naked. When Segel got to Disney, he pitched his idea for a movie with the Muppets, who had lost their way in the decades following the 1990 death at age 53 of Jim Henson, the creator of the Muppets and the original voice of Kermit. They hadn't had a theatrical release since the less-thanblockbuster Muppets from Space in 1999. "I had come off of all these R-rated Judd Apatow movies," says Segel, who also appeared in Apatow's Knocked Up. "They kind of chuckled. I think they thought I was kidding."

But when Segel said he wanted to make a Muppet movie, he meant it. The script for *The Muppets* is sweet, oldfashioned and smart, much like the beloved first three Muppet movies. Segel plays Gary, a superpositive, supernaive up from a Pleasantville-type town who goes to Los Angeles with his girlfriend. (Amy Adams) to meet the Muppets, only to find they have disbanded. Miss Piggy is in Paris, where she is the plussize editor of French Vegue. Gonzo runs a plumbing company in upstate New York, Animal is in rehab for anger management, Fozzie is in Vegas in a Muppets cover band called the Moopets, and Kermit is in Howard Hughes-esque exile in his Bel Air mansion.

"They're all pretty lonely and miss their friends," says Nicholas Stoller, who directed Forgetting Sarah Marshall and co-wrote The Muppets with Segel, "If this were real life, it wouldn't work. It would be weird Facebook friend requests from people you went to junior high with." But these being the Muppets-and this being Segel's lifelong fantasy-they get back together to put on a show and save their old studio from Tex Richman (Chris Cooper), an evil baron who wants the oil underneath it. On the set today, Cooper yells at Kermit with such ferocity and stomps so convincingly around the stage off camera that some mistakenly think he's spending the entire shoot in character as the villain.

There are moments when you get the feeling someone is going to walk in and tell everyone the Muppets aren't real and a lot of people are going to cry.

Under the Influence

FOR A LAKGE GROUP OF COMEDIANS who grew up in the 1970s and 780s, "the Muppets were the gateway drug to comedy," Studies says. "You'd try it, and you'd want more of it, so you'd try Montyl Python and Saturday Night Like. Then you'd fall down the rabbit hole. They're like so self-saware, and there are jokes flying everywhere. They're like The Simpsons without evnicism."

"Watching The Muppet Show shaped





and the production



what I find funny," says Muppets director James Bobin, a co-creator of HBO's Flight of the Conchords, a show about two goofy New Zesland rock singers. (One of those singers, Bret McKenzie, wrote most of the songs in the movie.) Bobin grew up in the U.K., where The Muppet Flohou was shot and is thought of as an honorary member of the British canon, infleted with a Monty Python–like absurdity. "There has to be a time when stupij olikes and warmth and puns come back," Bobin says, "It's a change of direction."

The Mappets' producers compiled as list of more than 100 actors and singers who wanted to be in the film, Jack Black, Neil Patrick Harris, Zach Galifianakis, Ed Helms, Kahly Griffin and Mickey Rooney, among others, made the cut. (Christian Louboutin built platform stillettos for Miss Piggy, and Zac Posen made her a low-cut purple gown.) They created a celebrity telethon scene so they could work everyone in. "We wanted an IEImo cameo, but that wasn't ging to happen." Stoller says. "There's too much money resting on that guy."

It's been a while since there has been money resting on the Muppets: the past 20 years haven't been kind to them. There were direct-to-DVD films. Miss Piggy did Pizza Hut commercials. Felt gathered dust. "I'm probably a bigger fan of what I grew up watching than what I've been a part of," says Eric Jacobson, who has played Miss Piggy (as well as Fozzie Bear, Animal and Sam the Eagle) since 2001. But a real-world need for Muppets kept simmering. Unauthorized "Sad Kermit" videos-in which a Muppet impostor crooned depressing rock songs, did drugs and performed sexual acts he didn't seem all that excited about performingbecame a viral sensation in 2007. In the past couple of years, the legit Muppets produced a series of cooking shows with chef Cat Cora and some music videos for classic rock songs. Their mock-serious take on Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody" has racked up more than 20 million YouTube views.

Even a snarky gossipmonger like Perez. Hilton, a recent visior to the set, gets a little Muppety around the Muppets "He was a really nice guyl says Walter, a boyish new Muppet, who in the movie is Gary's best friend from their small town and likewise idolizes the Muppets. "Perez asked me if I was involved in any sexands! a !said." Not any that I know, The Puppet Master
The Smithsonian traveling exhibit
"Jim Henson's Fantastic World,"
featuring artifacts from throughout
the Muppet creator's career, opens
at New York City's Museum of the

Moving image next month



Brothers under the felt Henson confers with Kermit the Frog on the set of The Muppet Movie in 1978



Winning his wings Henson takes flight in his short film Time Piece, nominated for an Oscar in 1964



Woolly warblers Scat-jazz trio Mahna Mahna and the Snowths debuted on The Ed Sullivan Show in 1969



Birds of a feather Nutty Bird appeared in 1966 ads for Royal Crown Cola and was a prototype for Big Bird

but I'm sure you'll tell me if I have.'"

Surprisingly, it's not that strange to interview a Muppet. Peter Linz, who plays Walter, doesn't feel weird talking to me with his hand in my face. So I don't either. The rule is that you have to ask to interview the Muppet and its handler at separate times, even though I can totally see that Linz's hand is up there.

In fact, sometimes it's weirder looking right into Segel's wide-open, happy eyes. Even with all this Muppet love on set, Segel's Muppetphilia seems a little intense. "I have somebody on watch outside my trailer because he's so into the Muppets and moi," Miss Piggy says. "I'm thinking of getting a restraining order." Amy Adams can sing every lyric of every song I can name from 1979's The Muppet Movie-and even she was freaked out. "You kind of sign on to the man-child thing when you work with Jason," she says. "The only creepy thing is the idea of whoever marries him. Every time we have a new thing on the set, he says, 'Do we own that? Do I own that? Can I own that?" I told him, 'You can't have the Muppet Show sign over your driveway. You'll never get married." At one of his first meetings at Disney, the executives brought out some Muppets, and Segel immediately stopped paying attention, putting a Muppet on his hand and playing with it until Stoller got him to stop.

Segel says he has watched The Muppet Moviemore than 90 times—and that was before he even thought of pitching a new version. "I relate to the Muppets on a very deep level," he says. "They care about being nice to people. I don't really care about being nice to people. I don't really care about much besides being nice." For example, when a fan asked Segel to officiate at his wedding, Segel got a license online and performed the ceremony on The Tonight Show. He is thoughtful, heery and calm and wants to make comedy that's much the same way, if that's possible.

It hasn't been for a long time. "There was a Christopher Guest mocking comedy wave, a Farrelly brothers gross-out comedy wave, a cringe factor wave." Segelsays. "The Muppets stuck around by not being cynical." And now Disney is spending 550 million on a movie with singling and puppets and old friends saving the day by putting on a show! Either Segel knows something about America that the rest of us don't, or he's

about to go back to full-frontal nudity.

Tech



Cloud Control. Apple's iCloud is a great service—and a blow to the power of the PC

By Lev Grossman

THE BEST THING ABOUT CLOUD COMPUTING IS that word: doud. Telling consumers their data is in the cloud is like telling a kid his dog has gone to doggie heaven. There is no doggie heaven, and your data isn't in a cloud. It's in a windowless, fortress-like data center somewhere in the rural U.S.

Cloud computing is just a buzzword companies use to describe what they're doing when they move data and processing tasks you're used to hosting on your personal computer—e-mail, word processing, media storage—onto their servers, which you can access via the Internet. It sin't new, 'far from it. It's at least as old as webmail services like Hotmail. It is at least as old as webmail services like Hotmail. It is the did not a company to the company to the

Though things have a way of seeming new when Apple does them. On June 6, Steve Jobs announced Apple's new cloud service, iCloud. At its core, iCloud is a way to keep all your devices up to date with all your stuff. Take a photo on your iPhone and the photo zips up to the cloud and then rains back down into your iPad and MacBook and whatever else you've got that can store photos (as long as it's made by Apple). Create a document, write an e-mail, buy a song-same deal: it gets backed up in doggie heaven and automatically redistributed across your personal hardware collection, no cumbersome USB synching required. Apple has struggled with cloud computing in the past-iCloud is the successor to MobileMe, which followed .Mac. which replaced iDisk-but this is the breakthrough, bolder and simpler than its forebears. It should launch this fall

As more and more of your data and software evaporate off your hard drive and ascend into the

cloud, keep an eye on the larger trend that's developing here and the trade-offs that come with it. You can see why Apple's doing this. The more of your stuff that lives on its serveres, the easier it is for Apple to manage its vast empire of users and devices and keep track of what they're doing. Cloud computing gives Apple control, and if there's one thing Jobs likes, it's control.

Consumers get something out of it too: convenience. But in some ways, the cloud is a step back ward. It harks back to computing's primordial past, when every thing was cloud computing—dumb terminals connected to central mainframes. When personal computers arrived, the power those mainframes once wielded migrated outward onto them, but now it appears to be reversing course. This is a big change, as Jobs pointed out. "We're going to demote the PC and Mac to just be a device. We're going to move the hub, the center of your digital life, to the cloud," he said.

The thing is, I'm not sure I want my computer to be just a device. Cloud computing goes hand in hand with another trend: the netbookization and iPadization of the PC, with its transformation in a beautifully designed but lobotomized device that relies on an Internet umbilical cord to do most of its actual computing. Personally, I prefer my computer to be a computer, not a pad or a pod. I like my data and my processing power and my digital life to be with me, where I have control. So far, it's possible to have it both ways—feet on the ground, head in the cloud—but down the line, users may be forced to decide. Is keeping control of your data worth a little inconvenience?

PIE IN THE SKY Three major cloud services that are vying for your data



Apple (Cloud works with mail.

photos, contacts and so on as well as music. It puts the files directly on all your (Apple) devices. It's free—or \$25 a year to include non-iTunes music.



Google

With Music Beta, you have to upload your music library before you can play it, but then you can stream it on anything that has a browser, as long as you're online.



Amazon

Cloud Drive will give you up to 5 GB of online storage free; once you've uploaded your music, you can stream it on any computer using Cloud Player. After 5 GB, the service costs money.

Design

Doodle Dandy. Born of a whim, Google's mutating logo is its most creative asset

By Josh Sanhur

IT MAY HAVE BEEN THE MOST consequential out-of-the-office message in design history. On Aug. 30, 1998, Sergev Brin and Larry Page left the office of their Silicon Valley start-up to attend the Burning Man festival in the Nevada desert. They placed a man-on-fire stick figure behind their home-page logo: a hieroglyph telling users, in effect, "If the servers melt down, sorry, We're away." A little over a year later, at 3 a.m. on Oct. 31, Brin slapped a pair of pixelated clip-art pumpkins over the oo in Google, this time to show users that they were in the office working nonstop but were still psyched about Halloween.

They didn't know it at the time, but the Google doodle was born.

The doodle-an imaginative transformation of the Google logo, usually pegged to a holiday or anniversary—has become the Internet behemoth's most engaging innovation and its most effective advertising tool. (Think about it: in the age of the search toolbar, is there any other reason to visit the Google home page?) What began as a lark is now a full-fledged branch of Google, employing several full-time doodlers and a part-time

the doodle team with and foodler termics of a pontaneous burs writebourg creativity

founders saw the doodle as an opportunity to humanize the company," says current lead doodler Ryan Germick, 31,

Doodle subjects have ranged from artists (Vincent van Gogh, Andy Warhol) to scientists (Thomas Edison. Isaac Newton) to holidays both major and minor (three cheers for Porridge Day!). Around 2005 the doodles started skewing a bit abstract. (Check out the Morse-code. braille and bar-code doodles.) And since last year, Google has focused on video-based and interactive doodles. Some you play (Pac-Man), some you navigate (Jules Verne), and some you just sit back and watch (Charlie Chaplin, John Lennon). Look closely and there's often a hidden joke or function to discover (Verne. Pac-Man and Ina Garten).

After 271 doodles last year (up from just 33 in 2000), Google's latest may be its most ambitious. For the June 9 birthday of guitar legend Les Paul, the doodle team created a playable guitar. Users can strum it, record with it and even send their compositions to others. Germick is sight-lipped about

what his team is doodling next, but you can bet it doesn't involve clip art.





Aug. 30, 1998
When employees lett to: the Burning Man festival the logo

Google

Oct. 31, 1999
Tech blogs went crazy tor the Halloween pumpkins Sergey Brin

والكالأناكة

April 22, 2007
A melting iceherg to: Earth Day
is one of many ero-minded doodles
the team has created

Nov. 25, 2010
Chef Ina Garten prepared this
Thanksgiving feast, which Google
photographed (It you dicked

Google

Nov. 14, 2001 Google's first doodler. Dennis Hwar pave the logo an Impressionist look for Claude Monet's birthday

angele

April 15, 2005
The Leonardo da Vinci decelle subtivencapsulated several or that still's drawings and other work

2009

Feb. 19, 2011
In recent years, doodles have bee skewing more abstract, as in this rebus interpreting sculpto Constantin Brancusi

VIDER HAMES



June 6, 2009
The Tetris logo looked ready to play, out the eraol interactive doodles was



May 21, 2010
and arrived in the form of Pac-Man.
Click INSERT COIN Twice and
you get Ms. Pac-Man—all 250 levels

engineer. "The

Aug. 13, 2003

: Alfred Hitchcock



like author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle



Jan. 19, 2009 asketch for Martin Luther King Jr. Day



May 7, 2010



Oct. 9, 2010 John Lennon's birthday occasioned



John James Audubon, the logo shape

April 25, 2003



May 16, 2008 to the first laser, in one of thank



Oct. 7, 2009 le that marks the first patent for the bar code vou'll



Feb. 8, 2011 The Jules Verne logo is loaded with

Jan. 4, 2006

braille.

April 16, 2011

Charlie Chaplin, un nu







Jan. 28, 2008 Lego blocks



Nov. 4, 2009



Nov. 10, 2009 Sesame Street haracters



Sept. 30, 2010 stone Vacramis the

Flintstones ommandered timion.

THE LATEST



June 9, 2011

proged it to Les Paul's 96th birthday Turning on supposed to the

Art

A Ripping Good Yarn! Step aside, graffiti artists. Here come the knitters

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF Madame Defarge, the vengeful knitter of Charles Dickens' A Tale of Two Cities, needlework has never been the most revolutionary of pursuits. Slow, laborious and meditative, it's everything contemporary culture is not. But recently knitting—and its even squarer cousin, crocheting—has got ten something of a rebellious name around town. That name is yearn bombing.

Yarn bombers take their craft to the stress, stitching cozies for bike racks, stop signs and sculptures. They knit covers for sidewalk cracks, subway seats, even entire buses. Initially, like graffiti artists, they tagged their quarry in the dead of night, posting photos online and sometimes forming looseknit sorry) collectives to preserve their anonymity.

But civic authorities have mostly welcomed the practice (as have yarn stores). And perhans because our fingers want more out of life than just pressing keys and screens, yarn bombing has taken off around Austin, where in 2005 a dressshop owner, Magda Sayeg, knit a cover for her store's door handle on a slow day. Today Sayeg fields invitations to yarn-bomb cities and corporate headquarters. Some Canadian knitters have declared lune 11 the first International Yarn Bombing Day, encouraging all to go forth and vandalize-perhaps with a nice angora three-ply.

-BELINDA LUSCOMBE



Bombs away Clockwise from left, a tank blanket in Copenhagen; Magda Sayeg's leg warmer in Paris; Sayeg's gun cozy in Bali





Urban renewal
Clockwise from right,
a bike-rack sweater in
Orinda, Califf, a pothole
coaster on a Paris
sidewalk; a subway seat
cover in Philadelphia;
firefighters add knit
cherry blossoms to a tree
in Vancouver









America's Next Top Weiner

Athletes, musicians and politicians have shared theirs. Is it time for my closeup?

LIKE ANTHONY WEINER, I AM completely familiar with all the photos ever taken of my penis. That's because there aren't any. Like any man, I would love to spend an afternoon lolling in a glade, taking pictures of my penis. But no no—not women! I've dated, not a urologist, not the Museum of Modern Art—has ever said to me, "I'd love a few candids of your penis."

Other men, though, sense a greater demand Brett Favre and Kanye West allegedly sent unrequested photos to women. So many men are doing this that Saturday Night Live and Funny or Die have both done sketches on professional penisphotography studios. Were men experiencing some kind of sexualized renaissance like when we were codpieces and powdered wigs and flaunted chest hair? Is this something I'll need to teach my son Laszlo how to do! What's the right age to take photos of your penis? Because, at 2, he can already use an iPhone and admire his penis.

Not wanting to fall behind the times, like when I held on to my Treo phone, I decided to consult some experts. I asked Angie Rowntree, who owns the women's crotica site Sash.com, if I should be sending out penis pictures. She told me the users of her site would not enjoy that. She also assumed that few men took crotch shots until she asked her husband, who runs a dating site called KinkCulture.com, how many guys used their penises as their photos. Of the past eight men to sign up, three did. "It's asinine," Rowntree said. "Men haven't been able to figure out women for zoo evers." Rowntree was

definitely off the list for my penis photos. Pete Huyck and Alex Gregory, who directed A Good Old Fashioned Orgy, an upcoming comedy about friends in the Hamptons who throw an intimate party,

said they never considered having their lead character send a penis photo since it would have made him creepy. Even Neil Strauss, whose book The Game suggests wearing light-up iewelry to pick up women, said such photos are a bad idea. "It's a pathetic manifestation of the male ego," he said. "If it doesn't work out, they know in their twisted subconscious that they at least got it pretty close."

I was going to give up on the idea when sex columnist Dan Savage explained that while very few women want to see my photos, the small percentage who do are exactly the kinds of dynamic, exciting women who like travel and exotif codes. At least that's what I got out of what he said. He may have used the phrase "that sort of woman."

When I asked just such a dynamic woman if she'd like a photo of my penis. my lovely wife Cassandra said. "That's a stupid question. I've seen your penis before." The next morning, however, she saw her actor crush, Mark Ruffalo, buying coffee, I asked if she'd like to see a photo of Ruffalo's. "Sure!" she velled. Then she thought more about it. "It would feel scary. If you met an attractive woman at a party and she sent you a picture of her boobs, wouldn't you feel like that was weirdly aggressive?" I told her it would indeed seem weirdly aggressive in a totally awesome way. "Well, imagine if you were the weaker sex. You'd think this is aggressive and threatening."

Cassandra had a point. And that point was: she is not the right kind of woman. So I asked Plupboy's Miss June, Mei Ling Lam, if she wanted to see my penis. "That's a negativer" she told me in a way that seemed pretty harsh for a woman asking for \$5.99 to see her vaigina. "Women really don't want to see a penis. Men like to look at their penises. Freud might have gotten it wrong. Men may have the penis envy."

I clearly needed to increase my odds.

So, like Weiner, I went to Twitter, where I wrote, "Would anyone care to see a photo of my penis?" As Savage predicted, I got a lot of nos and two "I didn't think cameras could zoom in that far"s. Jodi Mozeika, a 27-year-old bartender in New Jersey, was one of many women who politely declined, so I called her to find out why. She told me that it would ruin the experience of reading this column, which, to me, seemed a small price to pay. But Mozeika had already gotten an unrequested penis photo from a friend, and she wants no more. "Unless it was, like, Wolverine," she said. "Not Hugh Jackman as himself. He also plays Liza Minnelli's gay husband, so I don't want to see that picture. Just Wolverine."

But in between the avalanche of "eww"s and some positive responses from

gay men, I got—as Savage promised—a few requests, len Goertler, a 33-year-old married mom of two in Willoughby, Ohio, has been on the wrong side of some unrequested penis photos as well. But mine, she said, would be different, since she likes my column and has seen me on television. This is exactly why I didn't go into banking.

But when I asked Cassandra to borrow her camera, her fish-eye lens and her makeup, she told me that while she did not want my penis photos, she also didn't want Goertler to have them. It really will take us another 2,000 years to figure out women.

10 Questions



Historian David McCullough discusses the death of letter writing and how Picasso was a big old bore

Your new book, The Greater Journey, is about a bunch of mostly artistic Americans who moved to Paris from 1830 to 1900. Why them?

We know a good deal about the time when Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were in Paris and more than a great deal about Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein. My feeling was that this period brought to France a group who are among the most interesting and important figures in American life. I also feel very strongly that history ought to be seen as a great deal more than just politics and the military.

Who was your favorite character from the book?

[Sculptor] Augustus Saint-Gaudens is one of my favorite characters in my writing life. Infinitely interesting man, complicated, immensely talented and important and a great American story. An immigrant shoemaker's son, was put to work at age 13, street kid in New York who was determined to excel. Remember. there were no schools of art here, no museums. If you wanted to become an architect, you went to Paris.

How did Samuel Morse go from portrait painter, before he went to Paris, to inventor?

The fact that Morse was a brilliant painter did not mean that he couldn't have other ideas. While he was in Paris, he got the idea for the telegraph and for Morse code. When he perfected the telegraph and went back to Paris to secure a French patent, he encountered the daguerreotype, and Daguerre said it would be fine if Morse took photography back to the U.S.

You use letters a lot in your research. Whose mail would you like to read today? William Trevor's, because he is perhaps the greatest living writer in English.

We don't write letters on paper anymore. How will this affect the study of history? The loss of people writing-

writing a composition, a letter or a report-is not just the loss for the record. It's the loss of

the process of working your thoughts out on paper, of having an idea that you would never have had if you weren't [writing]. And that's a handicap. People [I research] were writing letters every day. That was calisthenics for the brain.

We often can't understand how people in the past could have owned slaves or not educated girls. What do you think people will wonder about us? How we could have spent so much time watching TV.

You started a biography of Picasso but didn't finish.

To me, it just wasn't a very interesting life. Yes, he changed his female companionship periodically, and he painted a lot of paintings, but he really didn't do much.

Ever wish you still worked at Sports Illustrated?

No. I got wonderful training. I learned a lot about writing. But I was ready to move on.

It wasn't because of the editor who had a big stamp that read DULL?

[Laughs.] You heard about him? He'd stamp your work. And he wouldn't tell you why. You'd have to work it over.

Are you still using that

60-year-old Royal typewriter? I've written everything I've ever had published on it. It's a superb example of American manufacturing, Sometimes I think it's writing the books. -BELINDA LUSCOMBE



VIDEO AT TIME To watch videos of David McCullough and other newsmak ers, go to time.com/10questions





FILLED WITH COMMITMENT

Our Toyota team members don't just lend a hand in the places we call home. They lend thousands. Last year alone they voluntered 100,000 hours in communities all across America, including right here in San Antonio, home of our Tundra and Tacoma truck plant, it's how we help make the greater

